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With an Introduction by

WALTER GOLDWATER

Editor-in-Chief,
Radical Periodicals in the U.S., 1890-1960

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Introduction

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Introduction

Not long after the signing of the Hitler-Stalin pact in 1939, the Soviet leader decided that the Third (Communist) International had outlived its usefulness as an instrument of Soviet foreign policy. The two important publications promulgating the international revolution were *International Press Correspondence* (usually known as *Inprecorr*), and *Communist International.* Both of these were published in several languages, and had been distributed throughout the world for many years—*Inprecorr* since 1921 and *Communist International* from the time of the establishment of the organization itself in 1919. *Inprecorr* had changed its name to *World News and Views* in 1938, and became quite innocuous from 1940 on; *Communist International* was deprived of its sub-title "Organ of the Executive Committee of the Communist International" with the last issue of 1939, and ceased publication altogether at the end of 1940.

As in the case of *Inprecorr,* however, it was thought unwise to stop publication abruptly, so a new magazine in name, though not in content or format, appeared for the first time in April, 1941, with the name *International Review.* Two objections were found to the new name: the word "international" lost its charm after the German attack on Russia in June, 1941, for it became important that no internationalist or radical taint should touch the magazine, whose emphasis was largely on Russian matters; and the American distributors, who apparently had not been consulted, informed their employers abroad that the name would lead to confusion with another magazine of the same name, which had been published for some three years but had ceased publication in 1939. This was a left-Socialist periodical, and was bitterly anti-Communist. The third issue therefore appeared with the milder name *World Survey,* a modification that corresponded in kind to the earlier change from *Inprecorr* to *World News and Views* and the change from *Soviet Russia Today* to the current *New World Review.*

Of the two magazines, only seven numbers appeared, with dates but without numbering, and they are interesting mainly as a reflection of the change in emphasis during this crucial period (anti-war until the attack on Russia, then strongly pro-war). The last number appeared in June, 1942, when the Communist war effort in the United States had become total and the magazine would have served no useful purpose in that context. Nothing of a similar (international) nature appeared again until after the war, when the Cominform (Communist Information Bureau) paper, *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy* began publication in Yugoslavia.

Readers of *World Survey* will find the articles hackneyed, trite, and repetitive, but they do contain the gist and the form of Communist propaganda: the exaggerated statistics—"2,000,000 workers are languishing in Franco's jails; the exhortation—"The struggle is flaring up with a force to strike terror into the hearts of the Nazis and their henchmen"; and on every page high praise for the glorious Stalin. The student may easily wonder who could have read this, who could have borne it; but Party members and fellow-travelers did indeed bear it, and certainly would continue to bear it and revel in it to the present day if it were demanded of them. A dispassionate reading, however, will establish one fact clearly: the end of the magazine *Communist International,* like that of the parent Communist International itself, came not with a bang but with a whimper.

—Walter Goldwater
New York, 1968

International Review

FOLLOWING LENIN'S BEHESTS

A. S. SHCHERBAKOV

LENIN'S STRUGGLE AGAINST SOCIAL-CHAUVINISM IN THE FIRST IMPERIALIST WAR

M. ERCOLI

LENIN'S PLAN OF ELECTRIFICATION

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FOLLOWING LENIN'S BEHESTS

BY A. S. SHCHERBAKOV

[*At the Memorial Meeting held in the Bolshoi Theatre in Moscow on Jan. 21, 1941, the occasion of the seventeenth anniversary of Lenin's death, A. S. Shcherbakov, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Secretary of the Moscow Party organization, delivered the following address.*]

ANOTHER year has passed since the death of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.

In the seventeen years that have elapsed since Lenin's death the Bolshevik Party, fulfilling Lenin's behests, giving effect to Leninist-Stalinist principles in home and foreign policy, under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, has secured the victory of socialism, brought the U.S.S.R. to prosperity, consolidated its might and strength and power of defense.

The past year has been marked by new victories in socialist construction and major successes in the foreign policy of the Soviet state.

Our industry is on the upgrade. The volume of industrial production increased 11 per cent in 1940, the output rising by more than 13,000,000,000 rubles.

Particularly gratifying is the upward trend achieved in the latter months of 1940 in the key branches of heavy industry, namely, metallurgy and coal. The increase in the output of pig iron, steel, rolled metal and coal favors a further and more sweeping advance of socialist industry in 1941. Another encouraging fact is that during the second half of 1940, following the publication of the Decree "On Responsibility for Turning Out Bad Quality or Incomplete Manufactures and for Not Meeting All Obligatory Standards of Production," the quality of manufactures appreciably improved.

Major successes have been achieved by socialist agriculture as a result of the further entrenchment of the collective farm system.

The gross grain harvest in 1940 was close to 130,000,000 tons. The gross output and yield of all other crops, sugar beet, potatoes and fodder crops, likewise increased.

Stock raising on the collective farms has made good progress. During the first eleven months of 1940 42,000 new stock ranches were organized in the collective farms; the head of cattle increased considerably and there was a particularly large increase in the head of hogs and sheep.

The past year was marked by new successes in national economic development, by an advance of socialist industry in the towns and of the collective and state farms in the countryside, the growth and consolidation of the Soviet state, a rise in the material and cultural standards of the working people.

As a result of the wise and consistent foreign policy pursued by the Soviet Government, in 1940 our territory was considerably extended, the forces of the Soviet Union were multiplied, its borders were strengthened. The security of its northwestern frontiers and the city of Leningrad was insured.

Bessarabia, unlawfully severed from our country twenty years ago, has once more become Soviet. North Bukovina is now Soviet as well. The Red banner has been firmly planted on the shores of the Baltic Sea—Lithuania, Latvia and Esthonia have joined the Soviet Union.

The fraternal family of peoples of the U.S.S.R. now comprises sixteen Soviet Union Republics, and the population of the land of socialism has increased to 193,000,000.

The other day the election of deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. from the new republics and regions ended.

The peoples of these republics and regions are henceforth the masters of their own destinies. By their unanimous vote for the candidates of the election bloc of the Communists and the non-Party masses, they signified their will to build a new life together with all the working people of the Soviet Union. The Lenin-Stalin principle of internationalism, the policy of strengthening and extending the ties of friendship among the peoples have scored one more splendid victory.

Such in brief are the successes the peoples of the land of Soviets have achieved in the past year under the leadership of the Soviet Government, the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and our leader, Comrade Stalin. (*Stormy Applause.*)

I

In the past year the Soviet Government and the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. have drawn up and are putting into effect a number of highly important measures of historical significance. I have in view the Decree on "The Adoption of the Eight-Hour Working Day and the Seven-Day Week and Forbidding Workers and Employees to Leave Enterprises and Institutions Arbitrarily," the Decree "On State Labor Reserves of the U.S.S.R.," the Decree "On Responsibility for Turning Out Bad Quality or Incomplete Manufactures and for Not Meeting All Obligatory Standards of Production," and several others.

These measures are an expression of the further fulfilment of Lenin's behests.

The historical significance of these decisions lies in the fact that they are aimed at a sharp increase in labor productivity, at strengthening the defense power of the country, at establishing due order, discipline and efficiency in national economy.

Not only are these decisions of prime practical importance for the immediate future; they also determine the prospects for the development of socialist industry, they are

an expression of Stalin's concern for the lines along which the further construction of socialism and communism is to proceed.

Not everyone realized at first that the question of state labor reserves was a question of the future of our socialist industry, of the prospects for its development.

Marxism-Leninism teaches that society cannot develop without yearly accumulation, and accumulation is impossible without extended reproduction from year to year; moreover, extended reproduction is brought about both by increasing labor productivity as well as by drawing new workers into industry, by enlarging existing enterprises and building new plants and factories.

An inevitable concomitant of capitalism is the army of millions of unemployed, the so-called reserve army of labor, millions of people in enforced idleness, waiting patiently for work outside factory gates.

A reserve army of labor is an inevitable concomitant of capitalism. It is as impossible to imagine capitalism without crises and anarchy in production as to imagine capitalist economy without a reserve army of labor—millions of unemployed.

The reserve army of labor in tsarist Russia was created along the same lines as in any other capitalist country.

Hundreds of thousands and millions of poor peasants tramped the Russian country lanes cityward in search of a livelihood, in search of some means of subsistence. They swelled the ranks of the reserve industrial army of labor, knocking vainly at factory gates in search of work. Another source from which the reserve army was augmented was the mass of ruined artisans and urban petty bourgeoisie.

This is how the Russian capitalists and landowners created their reserves of labor.

Today the situation is quite different. Unemployment, that dread scourge of the working class, has long been abolished forever in the U.S.S.R. Poverty and ruin in the countryside have been done away with forever. No one in our country is obliged to knock at factory gates and beg for work. The collective farmers have found security. This means that the old sources from which industry derived its labor power no longer exist. Nevertheless the ranks of the working class must be constantly replenished. Industry in our country is steadily growing, new plants and factories are being built, old enterprises extended. All this means that new workers are needed. Without a steady supply of labor it is impossible to develop our industry, to advance our national economy.

This confronted the Soviet state with the major problem of creating new sources from which to replenish the working class.

To expect now that contingents of workers will come of themselves means to doom our industry to a chronic lack of workers, seriously to retard the development of our industry.

Planned socialist economy presupposes the planning of the allocation of material resources, finances and labor power by the state. Proper allocation of finances, machinery, equipment and other material resources, placing them where

they are needed, is an important element in planning; but in order to direct national economy properly it is necessary to plan labor reserves. This lever of planned socialist economy must also be held firmly by the state; labor reserves must be set up in a planned and organized manner, and the possibility insured of maneuvering them in the interests of socialist industry.

The Party and the Soviet Government cannot but also be concerned about the quality of the new contingents of the working class. We must not tolerate all sorts of misfits, loafers, people without ability, and such like elements going into the factories; the ranks of the working class must not be cluttered with adventitious elements.

The tremendous political and economic significance of the decree on labor reserves is precisely that it solves all these problems. The state has begun in planned and organized fashion to train new cadres of skilled workers in trade, railway and industrial training schools.

This decision of the Party and the government is being carried into effect with characteristic Bolshevik scope. Six hundred thousand youths have been called up and are already studying. From year to year this work will be extended. This signifies that in the near future our country will receive new cadres of skilled, politically trained young workers imbued with the desire to devote all their strength for the good of their country, for the consolidation of its might.

The decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. "On the Adoption of the Eight-Hour Working Day and the Seven-Day Week and Forbidding Workers and Employees to Leave Enterprises and Institutions Arbitrarily" constitutes an important measure toward establishing order and discipline in enterprises and offices. The decree is directed against those who have interpreted the right to work to mean the right to choose their place of work at their own discretion without considering the interests and the needs of the state, to mean the right to shift from job to job according to the principle "I go where I please"; it is directed against those who in their pursuit of easy money caused intolerable labor flux in industry.

Damage caused to industry by absentees ran to thousands of millions of rubles during the Second Five-Year Plan period.

Comrade Lenin taught us that:

"Whoever departs now from disciplinary order admits enemies into our midst."

Comrade Stalin teaches us:

"Tens and hundreds of thousands of working days are lost in industry as a result of absentees. The result is that thousands and millions of rubles are lost to the detriment of our industry. We cannot push our industry ahead, we cannot increase wages, if absenteeism does not cease, if the productivity of labor sticks at one point."

In full accord with the interests of the country and the people, the Soviet government has taken resolute measures to curb the "flitters," absentees and other disorganizers of production.

As regards the adoption of the eight-hour working day and the

seven-day week, this measure of the Party and the government too was given wholehearted support by the working people of our country as a means of enhancing the economic and defensive might of the Soviet state.

For nearly seven months the decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. has been in effect, and its results have already made themselves felt. It is common knowledge that during the second half of the past year all branches of economy registered an improvement in their work. The decree undoubtedly had a tremendous salutary effect in improving the work of industry.

II

Productivity of labor—this, in the last analysis, is the most important, the principal thing for the victory of a new social order. Lenin frequently impressed this lesson upon us.

Comrade Stalin constantly teaches us that socialism can be victorious only on the basis of high labor productivity.

"Why was it that capitalism smashed and defeated feudalism?" Comrade Stalin has said. "Because it created higher standards of productivity of labor, it enabled society to procure an incomparably greater quantity of products than was the case under the feudal system. Because it made society richer. Why is it that socialism can, should, and certainly will defeat the capitalist system of economy? Because it can furnish higher models of labor, a higher productivity of labor, than the capitalist system of economy. Because it can give society more products and can make society richer than the capitalist system of economy can." (J. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism,* International Publishers, New York, p. 547.)

Enormous possibilities for increasing labor productivity are inherent in the socialist system of economy. But possibilities are not realities. And the task is to marshal and utilize these possibilities and the numerous potentialities at our disposal.

The socialist system has already shown its advantages in the competition with capitalism for economic primacy.

Labor productivity in industry increased by 41 per cent during the years of the First Five-Year Plan and by 82 per cent during the Second Five-Year Plan period.

The rise in labor productivity is making good progress during the Third Five-Year Plan period, too. Many enterprises have set themselves the aim of fulfilling the Third Five-Year Plan as regards labor productivity in four years.

The importance of labor productivity in the development of the national economy is shown by the following example: an increase of 1 per cent in the average output of every worker is now equal to no less than 1,000,000,000 rubles' worth of additional production.

Quite a lot has been done in the U.S.S.R. to raise labor productivity. But we still have enormous work to do in this direction.

The potentialities for raising labor productivity in our country are exceptionally great. They lie, first of all, in the first-class technical equipment with which our national

economy is endowed and which has not yet been fully harnessed. They lie in the strengthening of labor discipline, the further development of the Stakhanov movement, etc.

One of the most important factors raising labor productivity is the cultural advance of our trained personnel and the general mass of working people.

As far as the scope and rapidity of cultural development are concerned, our country has no equal in history. The great October Socialist Revolution created powerful prerequisites for a genuine cultural revolution. Now this cultural revolution is being carried out in our country as one of the key components of the great socialist reconstruction.

However, the sublime goal for which the people of our country are fighting—the building of communism in our country—makes increasing demands on the cultural level of the working people as well as of our trained personnel. And if our criterion is the necessity of accomplishing the transition from socialism to communism—and we can have no other criterion—then we have not enough culture. Much of the old has still remained with us—ignorance, laxity, negligence, toleration of shortcomings.

The socialist system presupposes technical perfection, the application of the developments of advanced science. All the more intolerable, therefore, is a lack of elementary culture, as is frequently the case.

For instance, there are quite a number of factory shops where the very nature of the work calls for exceptional cleanliness, but instead they are full of dirt. As a result there is tremendous spoilage and low productivity.

A considerable amount of equipment—machinery and tools—gets spoiled and broken because technical culture is lacking, and people handle an intricate piece of machinery as though they were driving a farm cart. How many breakdowns do we still have in transport, at power stations, as a result of slackness and negligence, as a result of the fact that people often work on the principle of "it'll do in a pinch."

This lack of culture is a serious obstacle to increasing labor productivity and accelerating the advancement of our great cause.

That is why we must stubbornly fight to eliminate this obstacle, to fight for a higher level of culture.

Or take such a potentiality as economy and thrift in the national economy.

Lenin insistently demanded careful handling of every kopek of the people's money, economy in the use of every pood of coal, every pood of grain, etc.

"Keep an accurate and scrupulous account of money, manage economically, don't idle, don't pilfer, maintain the strictest discipline in work. . . ." Comrade Lenin wrote.

Use resources and materials rationally and economically, so that not a single kopek of the people's property is wasted—this is a lesson which Comrade Stalin daily teaches us.

Unlike capitalism, our socialist planned economy has all the prerequisities for economizing the people's property. But this advantage of ours cannot take effect auto-

matically. Economy, like everything else in the world, has to be fought for, and persistently.

Unfortunately in our country there are still many cases of improvidence and mismanagement in the outlay of state resources, raw materials, fuel, electric power, equipment and materials.

We are short of metal. But see how much metal goes in shavings, in waste and spoilage at any big plant. The national economy suffers great losses as a result of the uneconomical and neglectful use of raw material, fuel and electric power. We also lose a lot from defects in the work of our trading and supply organizations.

Our country is rich. Every day this wealth grows and multiplies. But we have many urgent needs. The potentialities for increasing the productivity of labor are plentiful, they are not utilized by a long way. How much could be done if we got down in real earnest, efficiently to utilize all these potentialities for further increasing labor productivity!

"In order to lead nowadays we must know how to manage, we must know and understand business. Now, you will not go very far . . . just by blowing your trumpet," says Comrade Stalin.

III

How great are the opportunities which we possess for increasing labor productivity in the collective farms and state farms is shown by the All-Union Agricultural Exhibition.

The Party and the government are showing the utmost concern for the development of socialist agriculture.

The Party and the government teach the collective farmers—use the land ably and efficiently, develop the cooperative husbandry because in this lies the strength of the collective farms, the source of prosperity of collective farmers.

Work conscientiously, share the collective farm income according to the labor performed, husband the resources of the collective farms —such is the path which Comrade Stalin has indicated for the steady progress of our collective farms.

The changes which have been made in the policy of deliveries and purchases of agricultural produce, the measures which have been taken for the development of socialized stock-breeding in the collective farms have created new possibilities for increasing the output of collective farm produce.

Formerly, the collective farm which worked well, which developed all departments of husbandry, had also to deliver more produce. Now, under the system of obligatory delivery of produce per acre of plowland, this injustice has been removed. The policy of delivery of agricultural produce is now an encouragement to the advanced collective farms and an inducement to the backward collective farms to make up leeway and catch up with those in advance.

The collective farmers have responded to these measures of the Party and the government with deeds. This year their honest labor won them a good harvest, they have increased the socialized stock,

and are developing all the other departments of husbandry.

Bread, meat, vegetables and other products have become more plentiful.

Our agriculture has advanced to a new, higher level.

In our country there are 240,000 collective farms. Equipped with the best modern implements, the collective farms have now grown into an invincible force. It is precisely on this basis that the last year has been signalized by a mighty display of popular initiative by the collective farmers, a popular mass movement for the construction of roads, canals, collective farm reservoirs, the draining of marshes—work in which tens and hundreds of thousands of collective farmers took part voluntarily. This conscious and voluntary initiative of the collective farmers shows how near and intelligible the interests of social economy, the interests of the state have grown to the millions of peasants. And there is no doubt that this popular initiative will grow and become more widespread.

The better we work in town and countryside, the more completely we utilize the advantages and potentialities of Soviet economy, the more rapid will be our forward march to communism.

We have considerable successes to our credit. But we must not forget for a moment Comrade Stalin's warnings not to be intoxicated by success and get swelled-headed.

"There is the danger that certain of our comrades, having become intoxicated with success, will get swelled heads and begin to lull themselves with boastful songs, such as: 'It's a walkover,' 'We can knock anybody into a cocked hat,' etc." (J. Stalin, "Report to the 17th Congress of the C.P.S.U.," *Problems of Leninism*, p. 536.)

This principle—not to be intoxicated by success, to avoid swelled heads—has always been a leading one with our Party.

However, Comrade Stalin's warning becomes particularly sharp and urgent in the present situation for the following reason. The flames of the second world war are raging in the capitalist countries. Sparks from this conflagration of war are being showered all over the world.

The Soviet Union is not taking part in the war, strictly observing a policy of peace and neutrality. In order to pursue such a policy we must constantly reinforce it with real power.

For our country military weakness has receded into the distant past. Relying on its economic and military might, the U.S.S.R. is pursuing a policy not dependent on anyone, a policy which springs entirely from the interests of the Soviet country.

In order to safeguard our country from the danger of military attack —following Lenin's behests—the Soviet Government has created a powerful Red Army, equipped it with the most modern armaments and enabled the Soviet people to continue their peaceful labor unmolested. Herein is the greatest achievement of the Soviet Government and our Party.

But the land of socialism is growing and developing in conditions of encirclement by capitalist states. We cannot be indifferent spectators

of what is taking place beyond our Soviet borders. The international situation now is particularly complicated and fraught with all sorts of unexpected events. In these conditions greater vigilance must be exercised in maintaining our external security and in strengthening all our positions.

Therefore, the interests of national defense must come first in all our work.

Studying the experience of the first imperialist war, Lenin said:

"The war has taught many things, not only that people have suffered, but also that the side which comes off best is the one which has the greater technical equipment, organization, discipline and the best machinery; this is what the war has taught and it is a very good thing that it has. The lesson to be drawn is that without machinery, without discipline, life in modern society is impossible—either master first-class technique or be crushed." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXII, p. 406, Russ. ed.)

These words were uttered almost twenty-three years ago, but they have not lost their significance and ring as sharply today as they did then.

That is why no one has a right to be self-complacent, carefree or "rest on his laurels."

IV

Socialism is triumphant in our country, and this is the fulfilment of Lenin's main behest. Socialism "has already entered the life, the everyday life of the people . . . permeates the entire life of the people." (Stalin.)

It is a grand road we have covered. But even vaster tasks lie yet before us.

We must make the U.S.S.R. a land abounding in produce of every kind, we must climb to the highest stage of development of human society—communism.

To overtake and surpass economically the most advanced capitalist countries of Europe and the United States of America—such is the concrete program which Comrade Stalin has laid down in the struggle for the building of communism.

We can solve this problem in the next ten or fifteen years. To do this, Comrade Stalin pointed out at the Eighteenth Party Congress, first of all we require an earnest and indomitable desire to move ahead and a readiness to make sacrifices and invest very considerable amounts of capital for the utmost expansion of our socialist industry.

A high technique of production and a high rate of industrial development are required for this.

In 1941 we must make a further serious step toward the solution of this task. New capital construction in industry is under way; all branches of the national economy must make serious headway.

We have achieved much in the sphere of the technique of production. The technical backwardness of our country has been abolished; industry and agriculture have been furnished with first-class modern technical equipment.

But technique does not stand still. The war, the furious armaments race, have particularly affected the development of technique. We cannot afford to fall behind in the de-

velopment of technique. Of course, it is easier and simpler to turn out machinery of old types which have already been mastered. But things that come easy and simple are not always the best. We must work tirelessly to promote the advancement of technique and science; we must work indefatigably to evolve new types of machines, engines and armaments.

Technique, especially war technique as represented by modern machines, motors, tanks and airplanes, must be mastered to perfection by the armed forces, which have been trained in a spirit of selfless devotion to the Soviet country and the people, trained in a spirit of fearlessness and Soviet patriotism. Every worker in the Soviet Union is a soldier in the great army of socialism.

Comrade Stalin teaches us that we must not live in a fool's paradise, without analyzing the past, without thinking of the future, oblivious to our surroundings. And some people still have a tendency to be unconcerned. This cannot be tolerated. We must make bigger efforts to educate the working people in the spirit of socialist discipline and organization, in the spirit of increasing their demands on themselves and on others.

We must make bigger efforts to educate all the soldiers in the great army of socialism in the spirit of sacrifices for the country, in a spirit of heroism, courage, fearlessness in battle, ruthless to the enemies of communism.

The great tasks involved in the building of communism and the international situation in which we live oblige all of us to work with greater self-sacrifice, to steel our determination, not to funk difficulties, not get swelled-headed or intoxicated with success. Now, more than ever before, there is a need for organization, mobilization, a readiness to make necessary sacrifices. We must constantly educate and re-educate ourselves, study our own experience and the experience of others, particularly the experience of the war.

Not to be slaves to routine, to demolish old standards and traditions if they are antiquated, replace them with new ones—such is the duty of every Leninist-Stalinist.

In all this we have someone to learn from, someone to emulate.

Follow Lenin in everything! Follow Stalin in everything! *(Applause.)* Be like Lenin, like Stalin in everything!

What methods have our enemies not used to strangle our Revolution, to wrest from the people the power they have won, to wrest away the fruits of their labor and struggle? But the peoples of the land of Soviets, as in Lenin's day, are under Stalin's leadership marching firmly and unswervingly along the chosen path to communism. *(Applause.)*

And if anybody takes it into his head to hinder this advance, then, following the behest of Lenin, "We must give them such a lesson that they'll tell their children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren not to play such tricks."

Long live Leninism!

Long life and health to Comrade Stalin! *(Applause. All rise. The orchestra plays "The Internationale.")*

LENIN'S STRUGGLE AGAINST SOCIAL-CHAUVINISM IN THE FIRST IMPERIALIST WORLD WAR

BY M. ERCOLI

I

THE first great imperialist World War had been foreseen by Lenin and the Bolsheviks as a development to which capitalism was fatally leading in the relatively peaceful period that succeeded the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, as the inevitable outcome of the growing antagonisms of the imperialist great powers struggling for a redivision of the world. The prediction of an armed conflict between the big capitalist countries of Europe was, moreover, one of the elements of the policy and propaganda of the Second International and of its parties prior to that war.

At the three international congresses which preceded the outbreak of the World War—that of Stuttgart in 1907, of Copenhagen in 1910, and of Basle in 1912—the problem of the international relations between the European great powers, of the war into which the laboring masses of Europe and of the entire world were threatened to be plunged, as well as the position which the organized working class should take up in the event of war, had not only been put on the agenda, but had formed the subject of lively discussion and a battle of trends. These discussions only served to show how deeply the pre-war Social-Democratic movement had been corroded by opportunism. They revealed what were to be the future lines of fracture and collapse of the Second International.

While the opportunists who headed the Socialist movement in France and Great Britain strove to harness the international organization of the workers to the imperialist policy of the French and British governments by extolling the entente concluded by these two governments as a "guarantee of peace," when as a matter of fact it was an instrument of preparation for war, the chartered representatives of the Right Wing of the German Social-Democratic Party unashamedly declared that their love for the human race could not prevent them from being "good Germans," that is to say, good servitors of the imperialist policy of their own bourgeoisie.

At the Stuttgart and Copenhagen congresses, the Left elements had succeeded, thanks above all to the energetic action and clear-sightedness of Lenin, in securing the adoption of the famous amendment in which the struggle against the im-

perialist war was directly associated with the class struggle for the overthrow of capitalism.

"Should war nevertheless break out," this amendment declared, "it is a duty of the working classes promptly to intervene and to endeavor to utilize the economic and political crisis caused by the war to arouse the masses of the people and to expedite the downfall of the domination of the capitalist class."

But resolutions did not count much with the parties of the prewar Second International. Their anti-war declarations were chockful of slogans and of threats against the bourgeoisie. The one issued by the Basle Congress spoke of the Commune of Paris, the sequel to the defeat of the French Empire in 1870, and of the revolution in Russia which followed the Russo-Japanese War.

Although recalling these revolutionary examples to the minds of the masses, the Social-Democratic leaders refused to discuss specific proposals for a struggle against militarism submitted by the representatives of one of the parties from the Balkans, where, at the time the Basle Congress sat, the fires of war were raging. But, on the other hand, at the very moment when they adopted the pompous manifesto in which they solemnly pledged themselves to wage "war on war," they had the bells rung in the old Protestant church in which the congress met. The instruments of the old religious hypocrisy were summoned to the aid of the new Social-Democratic hypocrisy.

The masses were imbued with sincere international sentiments and a profound hatred of war; but they had not been educated and prepared for a revolutionary struggle against war. The anti-war propaganda which had been carried on among them prior to 1914 oscillated between the empty anarchism of the followers of Hervé and the petty-bourgeois pacifism of the reformists.

Notwithstanding the corruption rampant in the Socialist Parties of practically all the countries of Western and Central Europe, the years immediately preceding the outbreak of the war were marked, as in the case of tsarist Russia, by a rising working class movement, which in several instances took the form of open revolutionary outbreaks. If, therefore, there had been a desire to translate into deeds the directions which, in spite of everything, had been included in the resolutions of the Stuttgart and Copenhagen congresses and in the Manifesto of the Basle Congress, neither the objective conditions nor the support of the masses would have been lacking.

What was lacking was what only the working class of Russia possessed, namely, a revolutionary leadership, a party of a new type, faithful to the principles of Marxism, armed with revolutionary theory, untainted by opportunism, solidly united with the masses, and capable of leading them both in the struggle for the improvement of their daily lot and in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism. The working class of Russia was the only one that possessed such a party, because the Bolsheviks were

". . . the *only* revolutionary organization in the world which has utterly smashed the opportunists and centrists and driven them out of the party." (J. Stalin, "Some Questions Concerning the History of Bolshevism," *Problems of Leninism*, p. 397.)

The few Left elements to be found in the ranks of the other parties of the Second International constituted an insignificant force compared with the enormous political, trade union and parliamentary machine controlled by the reformist leaders. What is more, the struggle of the Left elements against opportunism suffered from inconsistencies and grave errors. Their chief shortcoming was that they did not yet realize the necessity for an open rupture with the reformists and centrists. Corrupted by opportunism—which "substituted class collaboration for class struggle, rejected revolutionary means of struggle, and supported their 'own' governments in their difficulties, instead of utilizing thes difficulties for revolutionary purposes" (Lenin, *Socialism and War)*—the Second International and its parties were ripe for collapse.

This situation in the working class movement was revealed in the most tragic manner on the declaration of war on August 4, 1914. The pompous slogans and hysterical cries of the phrasemongers of the extreme Left, the vague pacifism of the reformists, and the solemn vows and promises were all betrayed and cast on the scrapheap. We had the vote in favor of war credits and participation in the government, not only by the Rights but also by the Lefts (Guesde) in France; the vote for war credits in Germany; the enthusiastic approbation of the imperialist war aims in Austria; the servile submission to the war government in England; and the support given to tsarist imperialism by the Mensheviks and centrists in Russia. In fact, the entire machinery of the Social-Democratic Parties, the trade unions, the cooperative movement, the municipalities and other organizations controlled by the reformists was placed at the disposal of bourgeois propaganda and war action.

The Lefts who rebelled against the treachery of the reformists and centrists could not muster enough strength to make their protests heard. The proletariat was left without revolutionary class leadership. The slogans issued by the chiefs of the Second International to the workers called upon them to place themselves at the service of the bourgeoisie and to go and kill their class brothers—in the interests of capitalism and imperialism.

It was in the midst of this frightful debacle, with a Europe in flames, that the voice of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party was raised. With his profound Marxist intuition and thorough mastery of the dialectical laws governing the development of social phenomena and, in particular, of the movement of the masses, Lenin not only realized that the catastrophe of 1914 was the inevitable result of the entire antecedent development, which had led to the triumph of opportunism in the Social-Democratic movement; he also foresaw that this catastrophe must and inevitably would

be the starting point of a new revolutionary development. That is why in the very first weeks of the war he launched the slogan:

"The Second International is dead, killed by opportunism. . . . Long live a Third International untainted by opportunism." (Lenin, "Position and Tasks of the Socialist International," *Collected Works*, Vol. XVIII, International Publishers, p. 89.)

A colossal task had to be performed. Every tie that still bound the healthy forces in the working class movement to the rotting corpse of Social-Democracy had to be severed with a firm and ruthless hand. Opportunism, which had now taken the form of social-patriotism and social-chauvinism, had to be unmasked. The fire had to be directed against the centrists, who, behind a smokescreen of Left phrases, were pursuing the same policy as the social-patriot leaders and were doing their best to prevent a rupture with them. Furthermore, the proletarian vanguard and the entire working class had to be given a new revolutionary perspective, distinguished by clear-cut slogans which would entail a complete break with the ignominious compromise and treachery of the past and help to rally the masses on new positions for an assault on the capitalist world which was foundering amidst the horrors of war. Relations had to be restored between the revolutionary elements in the various countries. And the internationalism which had been destroyed by the Social-Democratic leaders had to be resurrected.

In the domain of theory, of revolutionary tactics, and of organization of the political action of the masses, new roads had to be laid for the working class. And this is what Lenin did during the course of the first imperialist war. Therein lies the decisive historical value of his struggle against social-patriotism and social-chauvinism.

II

"Why is this war necessary? Why must we slaughter each other? Who profits by this devastation and by these massacres?"

These questions were the more imperious and agonizing, the greater the number of human beings plunged into the abyss of war and the more acute their sufferings. The ruling capitalist classes, which nowadays cannot risk a conflict involving a complete upheaval in the life of the country without first assuring themselves of the backing of public opinion, had to furnish some sort of answer to these questions. They needed arguments with which to fool the masses as much as, and sometimes even more than, they needed guns and munitions with which to crush the enemy. It was here that the social-patriots came to their aid.

"You must fight and kill your class brothers because your country demands it. You must defend your country."

This reply of the social-chauvinist leaders destroyd the very foundations of the internationalism of the working class, the foundations of all resistance to the policy of the bourgeoisie, the foundations of all class struggle. "Defense of the country," declared the renegade

Kautsky, going to the full length of abject groveling and cynicism, "is the duty and the right of everyone. True internationalism demands that I grant this right to the Socialists of all nations, including those which are at war with my own." In other words, mutually slaughter each other, and you will be perfect internationalists.

What does "defense of the country" mean for the proletariat? "The workingmen have no country," declared *The Communist Manifesto* as far back as 1848; which means that as long as the working class, by taking the power and the destiny of its country into its own hands, has not endowed the idea of country with a new significance, and as long as the proletariat, in a society divided into classes, is an oppressed and exploited class, all talk about the interests of the country in general can have no weight or significance for the proletariat.

"Speaking generally, what is 'defense of the fatherland'? Is it a scientific term employed in economics, politics, or the like? No. It is simply a very popular, hackneyed, and sometimes a mere philistine expression, denoting *justification of th war.*" (Lenin, "A Caricature of Marxism and 'Imperialist Economism,'" *Collected Works,* Vol. XIX.)

The justness of any war is a problem that can only be solved concretely, historically, after a study of the character of the war, of the period in which it occurs, and of the policy of the class which is waging it. It was on this terrain that the battle against the Social-Democratic traitors of all brands had to waged, the battle against the avowed social-patriots and social-chauvinists who had gone over bag and baggage to the camp of the bellicose bourgeoisie, and against the more perfidious and more dangerous centrists, who still masked themselves with a phraseology and arguments borrowed from Marxism in order to be able the more easily to deceive the working class masses.

The writings which Lenin devoted to this struggle will remain forever an incomparable example of profound and consistent scientific analysis, of effective and forceful propaganda of the results of this analysis, of indefatigable effort to lend a revolutionary direction to the thoughts and actions of the masses.

We must confess that this example does not always get the attention it should in the propaganda we are conducting against the war today. There still exists a tendency in our ranks not to pay sufficient attention to the arguments which the imperialist bourgeoisie and its Social-Democratic and other servitors resort to in order to hoodwink the masses. We know that these arguments are based on lies; but often enough we forget that what is clear to us and to the most advanced party of the working class is not always clear to the broad masses, on whom the influence of the bourgeoisie and its servitors is still strong.

In the writings of Lenin and Stalin prior to and during the first imperialist world war, none of the arguments of the enemy was overlooked. All of them were thoroughly examined and analyzed with the object of revealing their underlying

falsity and of thoroughly demolishing them.

And this was by no means an easy thing, for in every country and in every situation the treachery of the social-patriots was concealed under a different mask.

In France and England, where the dictatorship of the bourgeois class was still cloaked by democratic institutions, and where the latter had not yet lost prestige in the eyes of the masses, it was a war "for the defense of liberty and justice" that was preached.

In Germany, where it would have been too risky to attempt to extol the blessings of the Prussian regime, the tsarist empire was depicted as a "bulwark of reaction," which had to be destroyed by the arms of German imperialism.

Belgium and Serbia were cited in corroboration of the assertion that the war was being fought for "national independence." Evidence was strung together or forged in each country to show that the war in its case was a "defensive" one, a war forced upon a government of unhappy pacifists by the enemy "aggressor."

And the Russian Mensheviks and centrists, adapting the old and worn-out opportunist arguments of the Economists to the new situation, "demonstrated" that the working class should wish for and strive to bring about the victory of the odious tsarist regime on the grounds that such a victory, by accelerating the development of capitalism, would further the ultimate victory of socialism!

But Lenin's replies shattered every one of these arguments of the social-patriots and centrists, demonstrated their inconsistency, falsity and hypocrisy, and always directed the attention of the workers to the one fundamental and decisive fact, namely, that the war was an imperialist war, a continuation of the policy of the ruling capitalist class which held the power in its hands, and that this policy was a class policy, an *imperialist* policy of oppression and rapacious conquest.

In this way was demolished at one blow the sophistry of the Social-Democrats, who strove to deceive the workers by citing the position taken up by Marx and Engels in the wars of the preceding century.

Marx and Engels had lived in a period when the bourgeois revolution had not yet been consummated all over the European continent, and when the bourgeoisie played different roles in different countries, sometimes more or less progressive, sometimes reactionary, and the problem was to decide which was the national bourgeoisie whose victory would be desirable from the point of view of economic, political and social progress in general. But this manner of considering the problem of war could no longer be adopted by the working class from the moment that *capitalism entered its period of monopoly and became imperialist.*

From that moment the character of the historic epoch changed, and with it changed the character of the wars toward which the imperialist bourgeoisie were heading mankind.

The Marxists are not petty-bourgeois pacifists. The workers are not milk-and-water vegetarians. Rec-

ognizing and admitting the role that material force and violence play in history, they cannot be opposed to all wars without distinction. If a war is just, "not a war of conquest, but of liberation, waged to defend the people from foreign attack and from attempts to enslave them, or to liberate the people from capitalist slavery, or, lastly, to liberate colonies and dependent countries from the yoke of imperialism," the working class may and should support that war.

But it must resolutely oppose *unjust* wars, "wars of conquest, waged to conquer and enslave foreign countries and foreign nations." The war of 1914-18 was launched by the ruling classes of the big capitalist countries of Europe because the very development of the imperialist economic system drove each of them constantly to strive for fresh conquests, and, the world being already completely divided up, they had no other means of securing a *redivision of the world* than by instigating the biggest, most frightful and most destructive of wars.

It was therefore an imperialist war on both sides, an unjust war, a rapacious war, a war waged not for "democracy and justice," but for world hegemony, a war in which the working class could not range itself on either side, a war which it could not support in any way and which it had to combat with every means in its power. The fact that little Belgium and little Serbia had been invaded by foreign armies and their independence threatened could not alter this fundamental truth. If, Lenin said, the war of Serbia against the Austrian Empire had been an event isolated from the rest of the international situation, and from the imperialist war, for which the attack on Serbia had been only the pretext, the attitude of the working class would have been different; but inasmuch as that war was an inseparable and secondary element of the general situation, it could not change that situation or the character of the war any more than a drop of ink thrown into the sea could change the color of the latter.

But to refute the arguments of the social-chauvinists was not enough to give the working class the orientation it needed. The question arose: What was the cause of the collapse of the Second International? Whence this treason and this bankruptcy?

Lenin's reply was incisive. Social-chauvinism and social-patriotism had no other roots but opportunism, which had penetrated to and gained the upper hand in the Social-Democratic Parties. As to centrism, it was nothing but opportunism trying to mask the collapse of the Second International by diplomatic phrases. This collapse had been inevitable because the petty-bourgeois ideology of the labor aristocracy, nourished in each country by the super-profits of the imperialist bourgeoisie, had become dominant in the Second International.

"The opportunists have long been paving the way for the collapse of the Second International by renouncing socialist revolution and substituting bourgeois reformism for it; by renouncing the class struggle, with its inevitable con-

version, at certain moments, into civil war, and by preaching class collaboration; by advocating bourgeois-chauvinism under the guise of patriotism and defense of the country . . . by converting the necessary utilization of bourgeois parliamentarism and of bourgeois legality into a fetish and forgetting the necessity for illegal forms of organization and agitation in periods of crisis." (Lenin, "Tasks of Revolutionary Social-Democracy in the European War," *Collected Works*, Vol. XVIII.)

The collapse of the Second International was inseparably bound up with the entire evolution of capitalism and its conversion into imperialism.

III

Lenin's doctrine of imperialism, as formulated in his major work, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism,* and as popularized by him in all his writings during the first imperialist war, is a consistent scientific application and further development of the analysis of capitalist production and society made by Marx and Engels. The demonstration of the transition of capitalism from free competition to monopoly is based on an enormous amount of statistical data and a profound analysis of economic and historical development during the latter part of the nineteenth century. But, at the same time, Lenin's theory of imperialism was forged in the fires of the struggle against social-chauvinism and centrism, and was an acute weapon which Lenin used to open up new prospects and new avenues for the international working class movement which the collapse of the Second International seemed to have brought to a dead end.

In all countries, the masses were the object of an unceasing ideological offensive on the part of the bourgeoisie, its press, its propagandists, its Social-Democratic lackeys and its priests, all working hand-in-hand to conceal the truth from the workers and to intoxicate them with their agitation, which, whether patriotic and ultra-jingoistic, or falsely pacifistic and hypocritically humanitarian, always advocated "social peace" and the subordination of the workers to the interests of the bourgeois "fatherland" and the war.

Lenin's doctrine of imperialism drew the attention of the working class to the class nature of capitalist society and showed where the true responsibility for the war lay. It lay with capitalist society itself, with the principles on which that society was founded and the inevitable consequences of which were imperialist wars. It lay with the trusts, the monopolist industrial and banking associations, the financial oligarchies, in whose interests the plans for expansion and conquest are conceived and carried out. It lay with the war profiteers of every brand who build up their wealth on the blood of the people. The enemy is therefore to be looked for not beyond the frontiers, but at home. It was against this enemy that one's fire had to be directed, by developing the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, come what may.

Yes, argued the renegade Kautsky, hastening to the aid of the

social-patriots. Imperialism does exist. But it is nothing but the expansionist policy of certain bourgeois groups and parties. It is this policy alone that is responsible for the war. The working class, by allying itself with the pacifist petty bourgeoisie and the non-aggressive bourgeois groups, and by penetrating into the capitalist state apparatus, may put a check on these expansionist and bellicose tendencies and "reform" them, and thus pave the way for a period of pacific "ultra-imperialism." This argument was demolished by Lenin's doctrine of imperialism.

Imperialist wars are inevitable because imperialist politics cannot be separated from imperialist economics, without which capitalism cannot exist. Pacific "ultra-imperialism" is at best a morbid dream of the impotent petty-bourgeois. In the case of the renegade Kautsky, it was nothing but a mask to conceal his betrayal of Marxism and the working class. Imperialism—that is to say, an economic system based on the private ownership of the means of production and exchange, and on monopoly—can only serve as the foundation for a society doomed to be torn by disastrous inherent contradictions:

". . . the antagonism between labor and capital . . . the antagonism between the various financial groups and the imperialist powers in their struggle for sources of raw materials, for foreign territory . . . the antagonism between the handful of ruling, 'civilized' nations and the hundreds of millions of colonial and dependent peoples of the world." (J. Stalin, *Leninism*, Vol. I, pp. 15-16.)

These contradictions cannot be resolved by capitalism. They are inevitably bound to lead to a rupture of the imperialist chain, and it is by this rupture that the socialist revolution will be victoriously realized. Imperialism is moribund capitalism, and the working class must prepare to inter it.

The apologists and servitors of capitalism claimed to prove that the very development of imperialism would finally put an end to the inherent contradictions of capitalist society, and eliminate the anarchy of production by organizing capitalist production on a worldwide scale. To this band of apologists belonged that despicable Judas, Trotsky, who attributed to imperialism the "historical and truly emancipatory mission of organizing a unified world economic system transcending all national boundaries and state customs systems." To it also belonged the vile traitor Bukharin, who held forth on the "abstract theoretical possibility" of a "single world economic organization in the period of imperialism," of a single "capitalist world trust."

To this band today belong types like De Man, Spinasse, Bevin and Stampfer.

Abstractly speaking, Lenin said, one could picture a phase of "ultra-imperialism." Only,

". . . in practice it would mean that one was an opportunist. . . . In theory it would mean that one does not base oneself on the development actually in progress, but *detaches* oneself from it. . . . There can be no doubt that development is proceeding in the *direction* of a single world trust tending to swallow up

all enterprises and all states without exception. But the development in this direction is taking place under such circumstances, at such a rate, and in the midst of such contradictions, conflicts and shocks—not only economic, but also political, national, etc., etc.—that it is inevitable that *before* a single world trust, an 'ultra-imperialist' world amalgamation of the finance capitals of all nations, is reached, imperialism is bound to explode and capitalism to be transformed into its opposite." (Lenin.)

These prophetic words, imbued as they are with a profound Marxist, revolutionary dialectic, are of the utmost importance and of the greatest significance to us today. In their effort to deceive the working class once more, the De Mans, Bevins and their ilk, following in the footsteps of Kautsky and Trotsky, are going so far as to extol extreme imperialist aggressiveness, the dreams of world hegemony of the financial oligarchies and of the politicians in their service. "Since imperialism is inevitable," they declare, "we too must be imperialists." (Lenin, *The Collapse of the Second International.)*

Leninism, on the contrary, says: Yes: imperialism and imperialist wars are inevitable, but both just as inevitably bear within them the seeds of their negation, the socialist revolution.

The imperialist apologists never tire of extolling the power of the trusts, which embrace organizations on a national and an international scale. They bow in homage to the all-powerful imperialist state machine. They wax enthusiastic over the dizzying expansion of war production.

Lenin's doctrine of imperialism shows that in spite of this appearance of formidable strength imperialism is nothing but decaying, disintegrating capitalism.

The concentration of capitalist industry, the fusion of industrial capital and bank capital, the export of capital in place of the export of goods, and the subjugation of the whole world to a few monopolist organizations and privileged nations are accompanied by the development of the parasitic elements of capitalism, by the increased weight of the elements which do not live by productive labor. Monopoly, by its very nature, accentuates the tendency to stagnation and decomposition.

Types like De Man and the other advocates of great organized realms have not succeeded in proving that this thesis of Lenin's does not correspond to reality. Do not the facts show that it is precisely in the countries where monopoly has developed most rapidly and is most dominant that the parasitic forms have also developed most rapidly? The growth of parasitism goes hand in hand with the growth of the big monopoly associations, which derive unparalleled profits by bringing the small and medium producers increasingly under their sway with the help of a vast machine.

IV

Social-Democracy spread and fostered the belief that

". . . the victory of the revolution in a single country was impossible,

on the assumption that the combined action of the proletarians of all, or at least of a majority, of the advanced countries was necessary in order to achieve victory over the bourgeoisie." (J. Stalin, *Leninism*, Vol. I, p. 39.)

This dogma too was shattered by Lenin's doctrine of imperialism. An analysis of the development of capitalism in the period of imperialism led Lenin to deduce the law that the development of imperialism proceeds unevenly, spasmodically, which leads not only to conflict and wars, due to the constantly recurring necessity of a new redivision of the world, but also to the inevitability of the revolution first succeeding in one country only.

"The development of capitalism proceeds extremely unevenly in the various countries. It cannot be otherwise under the commodity production system. From this it follows irrefutably that Socialism cannot achieve victory simultaneously *in all* countries. It will achieve victory first in one or several countries, while the others will remain bourgeois or pre-bourgeois for some time." (Lenin, "The United States of Europe Slogan," *Selected Works*, Vol. V.)

This discovery, coming at the very moment of the bankruptcy of the Second International and its parties, opened up for the international working class movement a new and concrete revolutionary perspective, directly bound up with the situation created by the imperialist war. The working class had to be educated to understand this perspective.

Lenin's tactics in the course of the war, the slogans he issued in this period, the revolutionary activities of the organizations of the Bolshevik Party in Russia, the implacable efforts definitely to separate the revolutionary elements in the working class movement from the opportunists and centrists were all dictated by this revolutionary perspective, by the urgent necessity of definitely preparing the working class for revolution and the seizure of power. The "class peace" preached by the social-patriots had to be put an end to at all costs. The class struggle in all countries had to be developed to its most acute forms. Not having yet taken power in any one country, the working class could only rely in its fight against the war on its own organization and capacity for revolutionary action.

Lenin therefore rejected the demand for "peace," as advanced by the reformists, centrists and Catholic priests. Divorced from mass action against the ruling capitalist class which was responsible for the war, this demand was false and reactionary. Instead of mobilizing the people against those responsible for the war, it strove to foster in the masses the belief that peace depended on the good will of the very people who had instigated the war and were profiting by it. To appeal to the governments which were responsible for the war to conclude a democratic peace was "equivalent to approaching proprietors of houses of ill fame with a sermon on virtue." (Lenin, *Letters from Afar*, Little Lenin Library, International Publishers, Vol. 8, p. 35.)

It was utopian to believe that the

working class could enforce peace in the situation that existed in 1914-18 without the backing of revolutionary action, or of a proletarian power that had emerged from revolution. But Lenin did not reject the demand for peace when it was accompanied by mass action. This demand was inscribed on the banner of the October Revolution, which made peace possible by overthrowing the power of the capitalists.

An invincible faith in the progress and inevitable victory of the revolution inspired all Lenin's efforts to lay the foundation of a new international organization of the working class. It is true that the corruption of a section of the working class by the bourgeoisie is a phenomenon inseparable from imperialism. But it is likewise true that it is impossible for the bourgeoisie and the leaders of the social-patriots to deceive the mass of the proletariat for long.

"We cannot—nor can anybody else—calculate exactly what portion of the proletariat is following and will follow the social-chauvinists and opportunists. This will only be revealed by the struggle, it will be definitely decided only by the socialist revolution. . . .

"To explain to the masses the inevitability and the necessity of breaking with opportunism, to educate them for revolution by a ruthless struggle against opportunism, to utilize the experiences of the war for the purpose of unmasking the utter vileness of national-liberal labor politics and not to cover them up—this is the only Marxian line to be pursued in the international labor movement." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XIX, "Imperialism and the Split in the Socialist Movement," International Publishers, New York, p. 351.)

Just as there was no argument of the social-chauvinists that Lenin did not shatter by the iron force of his logic, so there was no revolutionary element, no germ of healthy criticism of or revolt against opportunism, no group sincerely developing in a revolutionary fashion, to which he did not devote his attention in order to encourage it and set it on the right road.

From the first appearance of a Bolshevik delegate at a conference of Socialist Parties of the Entente countries in London in 1915, from the International Woman's Conference and the International Youth Conference, to the conferences at Zimmerwald and Kienthal, the whole process of formation of a revolutionary wing within the working class movement during the course of the war was personally guided by Lenin. His advice, instructions and criticism aided the Left elements to rid themselves of their weaknesses and errors, to throw off the ballast of the old Social-Democratic ideologies and to set foot on the path to Bolshevism.

Lenin's slogans, appeals, instructions, his very name, found their way across trenches and frontiers into all countries, carrying their message to the hearts and minds of the masses, inspiring the workers who had become disgusted with the abject conduct of the social-patriots with hope and a vision of the future, multiplying their revolutionary energies, and preparing them for the impending class battles.

It was thus that Lenin cemented the revolutionary vanguard which arose in all countries for the struggle against imperialist war and social-patriotism in the latter period of the war and in the early years of the post-war period. It was these activities of Lenin which, in the fires of imperialist war, gave birth to the Communist International.

But while in practically all the countries of Western and Central Europe only small vanguard groups, and often only solitary individuals, were to be found capable of understanding and accepting Lenin's revolutionary teachings and of transmitting them to the masses, in tsarist Russia, the country in which the contradictions of international imperialism were focused, there was a whole party, a party formed by Lenin and Stalin in the course of nearly twenty years of struggle against opportunism, which put these teachings into practice and inculcated them into the minds of the masses.

It was the revolutionary struggle of this party, the indefatigable efforts of its scores of organizations all over the country, which were to bring about the victory of the Revolution of February, 1917. This revolutionary work was the indispensable premise for the victory of the Socialist Revolution of October 1917.

V

Lenin's historic predictions have been realized. The prospects he indicated have been, and still are being, brilliantly corroborated by events. The tremendous revolutionary work performed by Lenin at the head of the Bolshevik Party during the first imperialist world war has borne fruit.

Having attained power in Russia as the result of the October Socialist Revolution, the proletariat has used its power to organize socialist production. The working class of the Soviet Union has laid the solid foundations of a socialist society, is working to complete the edifice of that society and is preparing to pass to communism. Socialism has become a world force, whose strength is growing from day to day and which is setting up its own policy of peace against the imperialist policy of conquest and rapine. That is one factor which is exerting a profound influence on the conditions in which the second imperialist war is developing and rendering them different from those in which the World War of 1914-18 developed.

The working class movement all over the world, the peoples who hate the war and are anxious to preserve their independence and peace, find in the power of the socialist country a concrete backing in their struggle for peace. In the years that preceded the outbreak of the second imperialist war, it was this that served as the rallying ground for millions of working people, men and women, in a mass movement of extraordinary amplitude. It was the intrigues of the reactionary bourgeoisie, the vile schemes of the imperialists to provoke a war against the Soviet Union, the treachery of the Social-Democratic Parties in breaking the united action of the working class which were responsible for again plunging humanity into war.

And once the war broke out, the very existence of the mighty Soviet Union, its peace policy, its concrete proposals to put an end to the armed conflict, and all its efforts tending to limit the scope of the conflict, have lent, and are lending, a real meaning to the slogan of fighting for peace, and turn this slogan, which answers to the interests and aspirations of the peoples, into the most definite and suitable platform around which to rally the forces of the laboring classes and of the peoples who wish to escape or hold aloof from the inferno of war.

"The Soviet Union," Comrade Dimitroff wrote last May Day, "did everything in its power to prevent the present war. By its treaty with Germany it raised a barrier to the spread of war to Eastern Europe. It wrested thirteen million inhabitants of West Ukraine and West Byelorussia from the clutches of war. It prevented the conversion of the Baltic countries into a war base. The victory of the gallant Red Army over the Finnish White Guards eliminated the hotbed of war at its very frontiers, and by concluding peace with Finland it foiled the plans of the British and French war-mongers and strengthened and supported the resistance of a number of small countries to being dragged into the war. By its independent foreign policy, the policy of a socialist state, which is not interested in colonies nor annexations, nor imperialist wars, it has enhanced the security of its borders and has guaranteed the benefits of peace to its people." *(The Communist International,* 1940, No. 6, "The Struggle Against the Imperialist War," p. 354.)

The course of events and the new acquisitions of the socialist country only serve still more to stress the role which the Soviet Union is playing in the present international situation. While the imperialist war is continuing, is embroiling more and more nations, and is on the point of becoming a second world war, the proletariat in power in the Soviet Union is growing stronger in peace and steadily consolidating the positions of the working class; while the disastrous contradictions of imperialism are plunging the capitalist world into an abyss, the Soviet Union is becoming the beacon to which the eyes and hopes of the exploited and oppressed all over the world are turned.

But this is not the only new element in the present situation. The Third International, the international untainted by opportunism which Lenin foresaw, and of which he laid the foundation, is today a reality. In all countries, the vanguard of the working class is organized in Communist Parties, which have been educated ideologically and politically, and organized on the unshakable foundations of Bolshevism. Several of these Parties have already emerged from the stage of simple propaganda and have become real mass organizations; several of them have already stood the test of bitter class conflicts and have been tempered in the fires of civil war.

The bourgeoisie, and the social-patriots in its service, do not find it as easy as it was in 1914 to carry on propaganda for "social peace" and "defense of the country," to deceive the people with the lie that

this is a war "for liberty and justice." Could this legend survive, when the ruling classes of the so-called democratic countries have either betrayed the interests of their own nation in order openly to introduce the most reactionary forms of government, or are about to sacrifice all the liberties of the people on the altar of the god of war? The Social-Democratic Parties are sinking deeper and deeper into the morass of treachery. To the motives and arguments of their chauvinist propaganda of 1914-18 they have added hatred of the Soviet Union and of communism, a cry for armed intervention against the socialist country, and instigation to bloodthirsty persecution of the vanguard of the working class. Anti-communism has become the battle standard of Social-Democracy in the second imperialist war.

But in each country, from the very outbreak of the war, a vanguard was to be found which explained to the people that it was an unjust imperialist war, a rapacious war, the roots of which must be looked for in the development of the cataclysmic contradictions of imperialism.

Lenin's struggle against social-chauvinism, and the immortal example set by the party of Lenin and Stalin during the first imperialist war, are a daily inspiration to the activities of the Communists in all countries. It is against the imperialist bourgeoisie, which is responsible for the war, against the enemy in their own country, against capitalism, that they direct their struggle in raising the banner of proletarian internationalism.

The present war is taking place in conditions that present far more difficulties to the bourgeoisie than was the case in the war of 1914-18. The period 1918-39 was marked by a profound economic and political crisis for capitalism. This crisis shook the confidence of the people in the ruling classes. While the destruction of human life on the war fronts has not yet assumed the scale of the last war, the new methods of warfare, by effacing the difference between front and rear, are causing far greater suffering to millions of men and women, are leading to a destruction of wealth of unparalleled extent, are accelerating the disintegration of the entire machinery of production and exchange created by capitalism in the separate countries and internationally.

In this situation, the propaganda and activities of the Communists, notwithstanding the persecution to which they are subjected, and notwithstanding the fact that the Communist movement in practically every country has had to go deep underground, are more and more meeting with the approval and sympathy of the masses. In spite of everything, the rallying of the forces of the working class and of the finest section of the people generally around the Communist vanguard is bound to continue. But it demands that the Communists work patiently and persistently to enlighten, educate and organize the people, and to defend their living standards. It demands courage, intelligence and self-sacrifice.

LENIN'S PLAN OF ELECTRIFICATION

BY FRANK BECKER

MOST of the delegates at the Eighth All-Russian Congress of Soviets, held in December, 1920, came straight from the fronts of the civil war. They had been fighting against the White Guard forces of Kolchak and Deniken, and against the foreign interventionist forces, and had defeated them. But they had laid aside their arms only temporarily, for the civil war was not yet over. The Revolutionary Military Council was still publishing its official communiques on the operations at the fronts; and the thoughts of the delegates were constantly turning to the struggle that was being waged to defend the young Soviet regime.

At the Congress a work of 672 pages was distributed to the delegates. This book was entitled *A Plan for the Electrification of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republics*. In the report on the activities of the Council of People's Commissars that Lenin delivered at this congress he said with reference to this book:

"We have before us the result of the work of the State Commission for the Electrification of Russia in the shape of this small volume. . . . In my opinion it is a second program of our Party."

Lenin described this plan as the result of the work of the State Commission for the Electrification of Russia, but actually it was the result of the brilliant, far-sighted, constructive and methodical thinking, even in the midst of the civil war, of Lenin and Stalin. As early as April 6, 1918, only a few months after the decisive November days, Lenin had given instructions to the Academy of Sciences, through G. Krzhizhanovsky, to draw up "a rough plan of economic and technical work." In these instructions he had written:

"Pay particular attention to the electrification of industry and transport and the employment of electricity in agriculture. Investigate the possibilities of utilizing inferior kinds of fuel (peat, inferior qualities of coal) for the purpose of obtaining electric power with the least expenditure on producing and transporting liquid fuel." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXII, p. 434, Russ. ed.)

On January 23, 1920, Lenin wrote

to Krzhizhanovsky—who had published an article on the electrification of Russia—saying:

"Approximately . . . in 10 (20?) years we will 'electrify' Russia.

"I think you can draw up such a 'plan'—I repeat, not a technical, but a state plan.

"This must be drawn up at once so as to be able to fire the imagination of the masses with a definite, popular, clear and vivid (though, at bottom, thoroughly *scientific)* prospect that will say to them: set to work, and in 10 to 20 years we will *electrify* the whole of Russia, industry and agriculture. We will work until we obtain *such and such a number* (thousands or millions of h.p. or kilowatts? The devil knows what they call it) mechanical slaves, and so forth." (*Ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 432, Russ. ed.)

On February 21, 1920, the State Commission for the Electrification of Russia was set up, and Krzhizhanovsky was appointed chairman. The plan drawn up by this commission provided for the erection by 1935 of thirty electric power stations with a total capacity of 1,750,000 kilowatts.

The practical, scientific and political value of this plan lay in the fact that it mapped out the regions in which the power stations were to be erected according to their specific natural resources, conditions of production and potentialities for development. Thus, the electrification plan was made to conform with the economic divisions of the country; and electric power was to serve as a means for the rational exploitation of the natural resources of each district, particularly its power and raw material resources.

The plan itself was based on the principle of central power supply. That is to say, the erection of large, regional power stations in places rich in power resources. At the same time it provided for a rational division of labor among the various regions, *i.e.*, the specialization of each region in branches of production for which the natural resources as well as other conditions in the region were particularly suited.

Thanks to its realism, this plan proved to be so correct that the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. adopted the subsequent five-year perspective plans for electrical development even before it adopted the principles of the Five-Year Plan of general economic development.

The plan was submitted for the approval of Comrade Stalin, who wrote to Lenin in March, 1921, as follows:

"During the past three days I have had an opportunity of reading the symposium *A Plan for the Electrification of Russia.* My illness made this possible (it's an ill wind that blows nobody any good!) An excellent, well compiled book. A very skilful outline of a real *single* and real *state* economic plan, *without quotation marks.* This is the only Marxian attempt in our time to provide a truly realistic, technical and industrial base, the only one possible under present conditions, for the Soviet superstructure of economically backward Russia. . . .

"My opinion:

"1. We must not waste another minute on chattering about a plan;

"2. Start practical operations immediately;

"3. Devote at least one-third of our efforts (two-thirds will be spent

on 'current' needs) to these operations, to supplying materials and men, restoring industrial establishments, distributing labor power, supplying provisions. . . .

"4. As the members of the GOELRO [State Commission for the Electrification of Russia—*Ed.*], notwithstanding all their good qualities, lack a sound practical outlook (their memoranda smack of professorial impotence) we must add to the 'Planning Commission' practical people, who are accustomed to 'report progress,' 'work to schedule,' and so forth."

The grandeur of this plan can be fully appreciated only if the economic conditions prevailing in Russia at that time are borne in mind. The heritage that tsarism left the workers and peasants was not the pre-war economy, but an economy on the verge of utter ruin caused by the World War and the civil war. Pre-eminently an agrarian country, tsarist Russia was one of the least industrially developed countries among the big powers. This is revealed by a comparison of the electric power produced in Russia with that of other countries.

Whereas in 1913 the aggregate production of electrical energy in vast tsarist Russia barely reached 2,000,000,000 kwh., that in Germany amounted to over 5,000,000,000 kwh. Even Belgium, a much smaller country, produced nearly as much electricity in 1913 as was produced in the whole of tsarist Russia. The few power stations that did exist in Russia before the World War were concentrated in the purely industrial regions, and most of them were owned by foreign electrical companies. In the country, only a few very big landowners had small power stations built, not for agricultural purposes, but to supply electric light for their mansions. The vast water power resources of the country were not harnessed at all for the purpose of producing electricity.

As a result of the civil war and the sabotage of their former owners and managers, the few power stations that did exist were at a standstill. In 1920 the output of electricity had dropped to 520,000,000 kwh., that is, about one-fourth of the output in 1913.

This was the time that H. G. Wells, the celebrated author of numerous fantastic novels, visited Moscow. Here he heard about the electrification plan and, hungry for sensation, he sought and obtained an interview with Lenin on the subject. What Lenin told him about the prospects of the plan and of the revolution it would bring about in industry, transport and agriculture, seemed to Wells to be utopian. On his return to England he wrote:

"For Lenin, who like a good orthodox Marxist denounces all 'Utopians' has succumbed at last to a utopia, the Utopia of the electricians. He is throwing all his weight into a scheme for the development of great power-stations in Russia to serve whole provinces with light, with transport, and industrial power. Two experimental districts he said had already been electrified. Can one imagine a more courageous project in a vast flat land of priests and illiterate peasants, with no water-power, with no technical skill available, and with

trade and industry at the last gasp? Projects for such an electrification are in process of development in Holland and they have been discussed in England, and in those densely populated and industrially developed centers one can imagine them as successful, economical, and altogether beneficial. But their application to Russia is an altogether greater strain upon the constructive imagination. I cannot see anything of the sort happening in this dark crystal of Russia, but this little war at the Kremlin can; he sees the decaying railways replaced by a new electric transport, sees new railways spreading throughout the land, sees a new and happier Communist industrialism arising again. While I talked to him he almost persuaded me to share his vision." (H. G. Wells, "Russia in the Shadows" (1920) in Vol. XXVI, *The Works of H. G. Wells*, London, 1927, "A Volume of Journalism," pp. 578-579.)

This author of fantastic novels did not possess sufficient imagination to understand the realist Lenin, who saw far into the future. But the workers and peasants of the young land of Soviets, the builders of socialism, accepted Lenin's electrification plan with great enthusiasm.

* * *

Marx and Engels saw the extraordinary technical, economic and political possibilities of the employment of electricity, which at that time was still in its infancy. In a letter to Eduard Bernstein, written in 1883, Engels said:

"Actually, however, the thing is extremely revolutionary. The steam engine taught us to convert heat into mechanical motion; but with the employment of electricity, the way is open for us to *all* forms of energy: heat, mechanical motion, electricity, magnetism and light, to convert one into the other and back again, and to employ them for industrial purposes. The circle is completed. And Deprez' latest invention . . . definitely frees industry from all local limitations, makes possible the harnessing of the most remote water power; and although it will benefit the *cities* first, it must, in the long run, serve as the mighty lever that will remove the antithesis between town and country. But it is as plain as a pikestaff that it will also bring about such an increase in the productive forces as will soon outgrow the controlling power of the bourgeoisie."

Engels in this letter is referring to an invention for transmitting electric power by means of high tension wires then recently discovered and demonstrated by the French engineer Marcel Deprez at the Munich Electrical Exhibition. Deprez set up a water turbine and generator in Miesbach, about 60 kilometers from Munich, and stretched a high tension wire to the exhibition, where he set an electric motor in motion by means of this transmitted electricity.

Like Engels, Marx also was greatly interested in this experiment, as is seen from a letter he wrote to Engels on November 8, 1882, in which we read the following:

"What do you think of Deprez' experiment at the Munich Electrical Exhibition? It is nearly a year ago that Longuet promised to send me Deprez' works (particularly to show

that electricity permits of the transmission of power over long distances with the aid of a simple telegraph wire). . . ."

And to this Engels replied three days later:

"I am very eager to hear more about Deprez' experiment in Munich. . . . I would like to get the facts out of Longuet. At one stroke this thing makes the colossal and hitherto unused mass of water power utilizable."

Thus, Marx and Engels clearly realized the enormous economic and political significance of this new form of energy, which could be made to serve the cause of human progress, although they could only surmise what the technical development of electricity would be. In this field also, Lenin and Stalin followed the ideas and suggestions of Marx and Engels.

One of the most important advantages of electricity, as Marx and Engels already realized, was that it could be transmitted over long distances. With steam power, the boiler room in which the steam is generated is an inseparable part of the plant it is serving; but with electricity the generating plant can be situated at a considerable distance from it. A single power plant can thus simultaneously serve a number of industrial plants. A steam engine of 136 h.p. which serves a medium-sized industrial establishment is about equal to an electric power plant of only 100 kw. capacity. The average district power station has a capacity of 100,000 kw., and is thus able to supply power to 1,000 medium-sized industrial establishments.

But the substitution of electricity for steam causes not only a technical but also a social revolution. Electric power stations erected for the purpose of serving a few industrial plants are of relatively little benefit. Only the erection of regional power stations of very high capacity, and capable of being linked up with each other into a single system covering a very large area can have considerable economic effect. But such a system of electrification must be planned, and this is prevented by the anarchy of production in capitalist society. The development of electricity is being increasingly hindered by the limits set upon it by capitalism; electricity demands the snapping of its capitalist fetters.

* * *

In speaking of the electrification of the Soviet Union we are naturally speaking about planned electrification. The fundamental difference between electrification in the Soviet Union and that in other countries is that the former is planned, organized and thoroughly centralized. Although under capitalism electricity was introduced at the highest stage of capitalist development, i.e., the stage of monopoly, with its far-reaching centralization, nevertheless, the anarchic character of the capitalist system leaves its impress even on this organized branch of economy.

The development of electricity in capitalist countries reflects the fundamental contradictions of capitalism. Already in 1914 Rathenau, the

big German industrialist, stated that technically it was quite possible to generate all the electric power that Europe required in one spot, and thence to distribute it over the whole of Europe, and even beyond it. At the World Power Conference in Berlin a plan was outlined for a system of power distribution lines covering an area stretching from Lisbon to Rostov-on-Don, and from the waterfalls of Norway to Southern Italy. The cost of putting up 10,000 kilometers of transmission lines was estimated at about 2,000,000,000 marks. The introduction of such an All-European transmission system would enable the consumption of electricity in Europe to be raised to 100,000,000,000 kwh.

Thus, there has been no lack of electrification plans in Europe. In the last years of the imperialist World War the governments of Great Britain, Germany and France set up commissions to "regulate" the electricity supply. In Great Britain, Lloyd George, and in Germany, the well-known monopoly capitalist Walter Rathenau, were at the head of such commissions. Compelled by the necessities of the war to introduce the planned production and distribution of electricity, the capitalist governments thought that this could be continued after the war. But in the very first years after the war the contradiction between the productive forces of electricity and the capitalist mode of production became strikingly revealed.

In the period 1918-20, in nearly all countries in Europe, bills were drafted, and some even discussed in the various parliaments, for placing the electricity supply under state control. In Germany, on Dec. 31, 1919, the then existing National Assembly passed a law providing for the nationalization and centralization of the electricity supply. But before the first steps could be taken to give effect to this law the monopoly capitalists came on the scene and sabotaged the whole plan. The same thing happened in Czechoslovakia, in Holland, and also in Great Britain, where special bodies had been actually established in thirteen districts for the purpose of putting the electrification law into effect. In every country where such a law was passed, its execution was delayed, hindered and prevented by the various monopoly capitalist interests.

The question of centralizing and nationalizing the electricity supply came up in Germany once again during the period of acute capitalist crisis. In 1930, Oskar von Miller, the well-known power expert, was commissioned by the German government to give "expert opinion on the national electricity supply." In the memorandum he drew up he showed with great thoroughness and detail how advantageous it would be to cencentrate all the electric power plants in Germany in one electricity supply system. But in the autumn of 1931, in a paper he read at an assembly held in Frankfurt-on-Main to celebrate the 35th anniversary of the German Electrical Engineers' Association, von Miller was compelled to admit that the obstacles in the way of developing the electrical supply in Germany were insurmountable. This was an open

admission of the bankruptcy of capitalist "electrification plans."

Actually, the development of electricity under capitalism has reached the point where it must be subjected to uniform organization and centralized direction, or else, as Engels put it in the above-quoted letter to Bernstein, "outgrow the controlling power of the bourgeoisie." But the centralized direction and planning of the electricity supply is incompatible with the anarchic character of the capitalist mode of production.

* * *

Twenty years have elapsed since the plan for the electrification of Russia was adopted. In 1935, when according to the plan there were to have been thirty new power plants with a total capacity of 1,750,000 kw., the new power plants controlled by the Glavenergo (the Central Electricity Supply Board) already had a total capacity of 3,815,000 kw. In addition, there were the new district power stations with a total capacity of 530,000 kw., so that the total capacity of the electric power producing plants in the country at that time totaled 4,345,000 kw. Thus, the GOELRO plan was exceeded almost three times.

Two years later, in 1937, the total capacity of the power plants in the U.S.S.R. amounted to 8,100,000 kw., and in 1942, when the Third Five-Year Plan will be completed, the total capacity will be 17,200,000 kw. The machinery of a medium-sized industrial establishment consumes in twenty-four hours, running continuously, 2,400 kwh. of electricity. In 1938 the consumption of electricity per head of the population was 233 kwh.; in 1942 the consumption per head of the population will be 450 kwh. In 1938 the total production of electricity amounted to 39,000,000,000 kwh.; in 1942 the amount produced, according to the plan, will be 75,000,000,000 kwh.

Already over sixty new power plants are in operation, among them being the huge hydro-power plants on the river Dnieper in the Ukraine, the Volkhov and Lower Svir near Leningrad; the Kura, in the Caucasus, and others. Present plans provide for the completion in the near future of huge hydro-power plants on the rivers Volga, Kama and Oka, including what will be the largest power plant in the world, that near Kuibyshev, on the Volga, which is to have a capacity of 3,400,000 kw.—twice as much as the total capacity of the thirty power plants provided for in the original GOELRO plan.

The total increase of capacity resulting from the starting of new plants during the period of the Third Five-Year Plan will be 9,000,000 kw.

In his speech at the meeting held to celebrate the 23rd anniversary of the great Socialist October Revolution, Comrade Kalinin mentioned among the achievements of the preceding year the erection of the Uglich Hydro-Power Plant near Moscow, with a capacity of 110,000 kw., and of the Chirchik plant in Uzbekistan, which has a capacity of 43,000 kw. Both these plants were to have been completed at the end of the Third Five-Year Plan period,

but have been put into operation ahead of schedule.

* * *

When Lenin gave his instructions for drafting the GOELRO plan he also drew up a program for the reconstruction of the whole economy of the country in the course of the ensuing ten to fifteen years. On the assumption that the electrification of the country opened up wide and varied prospects, he, in this program, allowed for an increase in coal production in this period of 174 per cent, of oil production 213 per cent, pig iron 153 per cent, and steel 190 per cent. This program was also exceeded, largely owing to the extensive employment of electricity in all branches of the national economy.

The systematic electrification of industry is a decisive factor in the development and organization of the productive forces of a country. The introduction of electric coal-cutters in coal mining, and of electric cranes in the iron and steel industry, the substitution of electric motors to drive machines for the complicated and power-consuming transmission belt system, and the electrification of transport, all represent only one side of the organization of productive forces.

The other side is the use of electricity in the process of production itself, such as steel smelting in electric furnaces, the extraction of oxygen from the air for blast furnaces, as a result of which the output per furnace is doubled, the production of artificial fertilizers, the extensive employment of electricity in the chemical industry—in short, a revolution in the productive forces, enhanced by planned industrialization.

In agriculture also, electricity, in conjunction with the collectivization of farming, has brought about fundamental changes in the productive forces. The electrification of the villages links the peasants' households with the central and district power stations and transforms small-peasant farming into large-scale farming with electricity; that is to say, it results in the electrification of the threshing machines, flour mills, saw mills, machine and tractor stations, dairies, and so forth. But it also results in the employment of electricity in the actual process of agricultural production.

In the speech already mentioned, Comrade Kalinin stated that the new power station in Chirchik is providing electric power for a huge plant for the extraction of nitrates from the air and the production of artificial fertilizers, which has solved the problem of supplying fertilizers for the cotton fields in the Central Asian Soviet Republics.

In the Soviet Union there is not a single collective farm household within reach of a central or district power station that is not hooked up with the power supply system. Where power is not supplied by a central or district station, the collective farm erects a small plant of its own, utilizing the water power of an adjacent river or stream, and produces electricity for the needs of the farm. At the Agricultural Exhibition in Moscow there is a model collective-farm power plant with a capacity of 12 kw. In 1939,

about 8,000 collective farms had erected power stations of this type.

In some agricultural districts, power plants with capacities ranging from 100 to 800 kw. have been erected. One such plant in the Ukraine supplies power and light to 28 collective farms, 11 flour mills, 46 fodder bases, 2 machine and tractor stations and over 5,000 peasant houses. At the 18th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, held in March, 1939, Comrade Molotov made special reference in his report on the Third Five-Year Plan to the erection of small power plants to serve agricultural districts.

The employment of electricity in agriculture is passing out of its experimental stage and is becoming widely practiced, particularly in the cultivation of vegetables. Vegetable and fruit farms are springing up in the vicinity of large power plants, where the soil is warmed by electricity, and the plants are subjected to the rays of electric light. In Zaporozhye, near the Dnieper power plant, hothouses have been built on an area of 20,000 square meters, which provide fresh vegetables all year around. On Dixon Island, in the Arctic, a large electrified vegetable garden has been laid out amidst the ice and snow and in the winter months provides the inhabitants with fresh cucumbers, radishes, lettuce, tomatoes, onions, and other vegetables.

Notwithstanding this tremendous development, the resources of what is called "white coal," that is, of water power, have barely been tapped in the Soviet Union. It is estimated that the total water power in the Soviet Union is equal to 180,000,000 kw. Of this, barely 1 per cent has been harnessed. One hundred and eighty million units seems a fantastic figure; but at one time the GOELRO plan, which provided for 1,750,000 kw., also seemed fantastic. The electrification of the Soviet Union is progressing with giant strides for, as Lenin said, "Communism is Soviet Power plus electrification of the whole country."

* * *

Every year new electric power stations are put into operation in the Soviet Union. They are erected, according to plan, where the requirements of socialist production demand them. Their situation is determined not by chance, or by considerations of personal gain as is the case in capitalist countries, but by the economic needs of society. The greatest advantage that the electric supply system in the Soviet Union enjoys over that in other countries is that the power plants are systematically linked up in large groups. The Dnieper Hydro-Power Plant is linked up with the heat power plants in the Donbas. When the water is low in the Dnieper, or if the power supply in the Donbas is interrupted, one station immediately comes to the assistance of the other and makes up the deficit in the respective district.

The planned development of electric power supply in the Soviet Union is proceeding still further in the direction of creating large, interconnected power supply groups. The combining of branches of industry with the view to the greatest

possible rationalization of power supply, the division of the country into separate power supply regions linked up in a single system, the modernization of industry on the basis of electricity, the progressive industrialization and electrification of agriculture, and lastly, the extensive electrification of the transport system—these are the lines on which the electric power supply system is developing in the Soviet Union.

In his speech at the 18th Congress of the C.P.S.U. above referred to, Comrade Molotov said:

"We can only feel gratified that in our country electric power generation has already been released from the manacles of capitalism and that we already receive its blessings in abundance." (*The Land of Socialism Today and Tomorrow*, p. 139.)

The time is not far distant when the whole of the Soviet Union will be linked up in a single power system so that not a single district will be obliged to maintain costly reserves in the event of interruptions in the supply. The linking up of huge economic groups with a single power base, which can justly be described as the decisive material basis for communist society, is fast becoming a fact. This was the magnificent idea that Lenin gave utterance to twenty years ago when he said:

"And if Russia is covered by a dense network of electric power stations and powerful technical installations, our communist economic development will become a model for a future socialist Europe and Asia." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXVI, p. 60, Russ. ed.)

THE TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF FRANCE

BY M. THOREZ

THE Communist Party of France is celebrating its twentieth anniversary. On Dec. 29, 1920, after four days of furious discussion, the Tours Congress, by an overwhelming vote of 3,208 against 1,022, with 397 abstentions, decided in favor of the Socialist Party of that time affiliating to the Communist International.

This took place shortly after the first imperialist war. The capitalist rulers of France and their British and American allies had vanquished their German rival. The French bourgeoisie, which benefited most from the unjust Peace of Versailles, had become the bulwark of European reaction, the vanguard of the counter-revolution. The French people, however, had been decimated during the sanguinary slaughter. On the battlefields were lying 1,380,000 dead. All the working people were filled with hatred for the war; and this hatred steadily grew into a direct challenge to the capitalists who were responsible for it, and to their accomplices, the treacherous leaders of the Socialist Party and of the Confédération Générale du Travail.

Already in 1917 repercussions of the Russian Revolution were felt in the shape of mutinies of whole regiments at the front. At the same time strikes broke out in Paris and other industrial centers. The women were particularly enraged against the warmongers. After the war, in 1919, and particularly in 1920, the struggle steadily gained in intensity. In spite of the sabotage of the reformist leaders, the strike movement spread to all branches of industry throughout the country. It was a reflection of the advancing revolutionary movement in France, as well as an expression of that irresistible spirit—drawing the masses toward Soviet revolution—which prompted the French sailors in the Black Sea, headed by André Marty, to refuse to turn their weapons against the young workers' and peasants' republic.

The international repercussions of the October Revolution were making themselves felt more and more distinctly. The workers who had passed through the trials and sufferings of the war but had remained under the oppressive yoke of capital were being increasingly impressed by the fact that the Russian proletariat had succeeded in

putting an end to the imperialist war by overthrowing the power of the bourgeoisie. They saw that the workers and peasants of the former tsarist empire, led by the glorious Party of Lenin and Stalin, had succeeded in capturing power, establishing their own state and expropriating the capitalists and landlords, and were proceeding to build socialist society.

In the great and victorious Soviet Union the revolutionary workers of France instinctively recognized the sacred heritage of the "defeated, but not vanquished" Paris Commune. To them it was like a blazing beacon which, with the light of Communism, lit up the path of the proletarians of all countries, the path of Leninism, of the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, of an honest and revolutionary class policy, the path of the Third International.

The first and most important lesson of the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia was that it revealed

". . . the necessity for a new party, a militant party, a revolutionary party, bold enough to lead the proletarians to the struggle for power, with sufficient experience to be able to orientate itself in the complicated problems that arise in a revolutionary situation, and sufficiently flexible to steer clear of any submerged rocks on the way to its goal." (J. Stalin, *Leninism,* International Publishers, New York., Vol. I, p. 73.)

The historical decision of the Tours Congress, the mass affiliation of Socialists to the Third International, showed that the best proletarians in France, the most ardent and determined, the most class-conscious and revolutionary workers, were resolved to build this new party, the party of Leninism.

This work bore abundant fruit. Today even the imperialist bourgeoisie, which is adopting the severest measures of repression against the Communists, is compelled to admit that in France only *one* party has remained that is worthy of the confidence of the masses of the people, and their only hope—and that party is the Communist Party. All the bourgeois parties, as well as the Socialist Party led by the Blums and Faures, have been shattered and are lying prostrate at the feet of the, at present, triumphant reaction. All of them have vanished from the political arena. The *Gazette de Lausanne* of Dec. 2, 1940, wrote:

"Only the Communist Party, which on the outbreak of the war was suppressed and most of whose leaders were flung into jail, has been able, by its very structure, to adjust itself to a new, underground, secret, but uncommonly active existence."

By its very structure, certainly; but, we would add, because our Party had become "a party of a new type"; because of its principles, methods, tactics, and organization; its choice of leaders; because of all that our Party has learned from Lenin and Stalin and from the Communist International; because of everything it had stood for during its twenty years of struggle under the banner of Communism,

not without mistakes, blunders and defects, of course.

Let us briefly review the most important phases of the struggle it has waged against the imperialist bourgeoisie—and against its main social prop, the Socialist Party—as well as against the various brands of opportunists in our ranks who by their tactics played into the hands of the class enemy and tried to divert the Party from the path of Leninism.

The Struggle Against the Imperialist War

The name of the Communist Party of France is inseparably associated with the relentless and courageous struggle against imperialist war and for peace, for the defense of the Soviet Union and for assisting the colonial peoples who are oppressed by French imperialism.

We will enumerate the most important episodes, the most brilliant campaigns in this struggle that our Party has waged under the banner of proletarian internationalism.

Defense of the Soviet Union

This was primarily the struggle against intervention, against the shameful blockade, against the "barbed wire fence" that the imperialists wanted to put around the Soviet Union. In response to the appeal issued by Marcel Cachin the French dockers refused to load cargoes intended for the White Guard forces. As a result of the pressure of the masses of the people —and also of the growing power of the Soviet Union—this chapter of open intervention was brought to a close and the French government was compelled to recognize the Bolshevik regime; but the policy of intrigue and provocation continued. The Party continued its struggle. André Marty, from his prison cell, made a slashing reply to Marshal Foch who, in an interview with the correspondent of the London *Referee,* had glorified the anti-Soviet war.

In response to the Party's call, the workers, on Aug. 1, 1921, came pouring out into the streets to demonstrate against war and for the defense of the Soviet Union. So imposing was this demonstration that the government took fright and mobilized the whole of the police force. In May, 1932, the issue of a special edition of *Humanité* a few hours after the assassination of the President of the Republic by the Russian White Guard Gorgulov, thwarted a monstrous plot hatched by the police against the Party and against the Soviet Union.

From 1935 onward the Party conducted a continuous campaign for the observation of the Franco-Soviet Mutual Assistance Pact as one of the main planks in the peace program of the Communist Party and of the Popular Front. The Party explained to the masses that this pact was the strongest guarantee of France's peace and security. Events have only too well confirmed the correctness of our assertion, which was scorned by those who out of hatred for communism and the Soviet Union have brought our country to defeat and disaster.

On the eve of the second imperialist war, and when it was already

in progress, the Communist Party once again—while subject to the growing persecution of its enemies, the bourgeoisie and the Social-Democrats—proved its loyalty to the French and international proletariat, and to the cause of Lenin and Stalin.

The Struggle Against the Versailles Treaty

The struggle the Communist Party of France waged against the Versailles Treaty reached its climax at the time of the occupation of the Ruhr in 1923. Our Party officials went into the occupied region to advocate and organize fraternization between the French troops and the German workers. In 1932 the working people of Paris welcomed Thaelmann, who had come in the name of the German Communists to strengthen the bonds of solidarity which had united—and always will unite—the German and the French workers.

Support for Colonial People

In 1925 the Party organized a campaign against the Morocco war. It supported the Riffs, who were being besieged in their mountains. Fourteen hundred soldiers were convicted by court martial for refusing to shoot down their colored brothers. Through the medium of the Central Committee of Action the Party convened a workers' and peasants' congress which mobilized the masses and prepared for the 24-hour strike that took place on Oct. 12, 1925. In Paris huge demonstrations took place. In Puteaux a workman was killed. The workers of Paris arranged a most impressive funeral, and opposed the Morocco war, and the war that had broken out again in Syria with redoubled zeal.

The Party has supported the national demands of the colonial peoples that are oppressed by the French imperialists and are fighting for their independence. The Communists in the Chamber of Deputies publicly proclaimed the Party's position. They traveled to the colonies to establish contacts with the oppressed peoples, to help to organize their forces and to help them in their struggle against the common enemy—French imperialism.

The Fight for Proletarian Internationalism

The Party, greatly assisted by the Red Aid organizations, organized campaigns of solidarity with the victims of White Terror. In July, 1927, the working class of France, and particularly the people of Paris, rose up to save Sacco and Vanzetti from the electric chair. Tens of thousands of demonstrators marched through the boulevards and main streets of Paris, where there were frequent collisions with the police, who tried to break up the demonstrations.

The Communist Party of France has constantly called for support for the Chinese people, who are fighting heroically against the Japanese imperialists.

The movement in support of Republican Spain constitutes one of the most brilliant chapters in the history of the Communist Party of France. It attacked the so-called

non-intervention policy invented by Blum, it organized tremendous demonstrations, and many of its best and most active members joined the International Brigades. The Party collected large funds for the assistance of the Spanish Republicans.

The Communist Party was the only party in France which in parliament and throughout the country exposed the plot that was being hatched by the world reactionaries against peace, the international working class movement, the Soviet Union and the security of France and other nations. The Munich Pact of 1938 was the harbinger of the doom of France—which marched from concession to concession and capitulation to capitulation—and landed her in the abyss of war and defeat.

The Second Imperialist War

The French reactionaries did all in their power to thwart the efforts of the Soviet Union to establish a peace front, and all the efforts of the French Communists to back the proposals of the Soviet Union. What the Communists foresaw came to pass. The war broke out. Ten days before that, the Party was robbed of its press, and its meetings were prohibited. After a few days of indecision, the leaders and the whole Party membership resolutely flung themselves into the struggle against the reactionary, unjust imperialist war. The Party remained loyal to the cause of peace and to the cause of the French people. They denounced the lies circulated by the bourgeois and "Socialist" propagandists who, as in 1914, claimed that this was a war for "justice and liberty" a "war to defend democracy."

The Party was suppressed and persecuted. Only a handful ratted. The Party as a whole rallied around the Central Committee and fulfilled its revolutionary duty. The underground press began to function. In the beginning of October, 1939, the parliamentary group sent a memorandum to the President of the Chamber of Deputies proposing that peace be concluded while there was still time and before disaster overtook the country. The members of the Chamber were flung into prison. But the struggle went on, so much so that in April, 1940, the Socialist Minister Serol issued an order inflicting death sentences on those convicted of distributing Communist literature.

The Party proved that the imperialist bourgeoisie was capable of waging war only on the home front, only against the working class, only against the hard-won liberties and benefits gained by the masses of the working people. The facts have proved how right the Party has been. Nobody now has any doubts about the vile treachery of the French capitalists who, in the hope of saving their tottering power, surrendered the country in cold blood to a foreign army.

The enemies of Communism, the reactionaries and above all the traitors and renegades like Frossard, asserted that our policy against imperialist war and for peace was a "contradictory" one.

They contrasted the slogan that the Party had previously issued under different circumstances with the one that had come to the forefront now. But there is nothing clearer than the peace policy of the Communist Party.

1. In one period, from the end of the first imperialist war to approximately 1934, the main feature of the foreign policy of bourgeois France was its aggressiveness (intervention against the October Revolution, occupation of the left bank of the Rhine and the Ruhr, colonial wars for robbery and plunder, etc.). In this period the Communist Party advocated revolutionary defeatism. It called for fraternization and for unreserved support of colonial peoples who were fighting for their freedom.

2. After 1934 important changes took place in the international situation and in France. On the one hand, the forces of the capitalist powers became more or less equal; on the other hand, the influence of the Soviet Union in international politics was perceptibly growing. In France the working class, under the leadership of the Communist Party, checked the first onslaught of reaction. The Popular Front triumphed and set out to thwart the imperialist designs of the French bourgeoisie. It became possible to launch a policy of peace based on the power and the peace policy of the Soviet Union, and backed by the solidarity of the international proletariat. In this period the policy of the Communist Party was to ensure peace, to organize collective security and to protect the social gains and liberties of our people against foreign aggression.

3. In 1938 the Popular Front in France was wrecked by the treacherous policy of the Radical and "Socialist" leaders. The rush into the second imperialist war gained impetus. In September, 1939, the French bourgeoisie, who had betrayed Republican Spain to Franco and had repeatedly betrayed its allies, declared war on Germany on the pretext of coming to the aid of that prison of nations, Poland. The Communist Party launched a campaign against the reactionary imperialist war. It proclaimed the slogan "The enemy is at home," and issued the demand for immediate peace.

4. June, 1940. The French bourgeoisie capitulated. The armistice left 2,000,000 prisoners of war in the hands of Germany. Two-thirds of the country's territory was occupied by foreign troops, whose maintenance alone is costing the French people 400,000,000 francs per day. Our country has become a base for military operations; and the mobile war that has ruined Northern France again threatens to devastate her. The economic life of the country is paralyzed as a consequence of the artificial barriers erected between the two separate zones; it is entirely subordinated to the war aims of the victors. In this new situation the Communist Party has fought the reactionaries who were responsible for the war and for the defeat, and has issued the slogan of the independence and integrity of the national territory.

This brief enumeration of the facts shows that in every situation

our Communist Party has *always* been inspired by the sole desire to serve the interests of the working class and the people of France, and that it has remained true to its old watchword: "For a free, strong and happy France."

During these twenty years the Communist Party of France has proved itself to be the only genuine party of the people, the only party that is actually bound with the people by everything that expresses the greatness of the French nation—their passionate love for freedom and progress, their great sense of solidarity and fraternity with other nations, and their glorious revolutionary traditions.

The working people of our country, who are the backbone of the nation and represent its future, have in the course of twenty years seen our Party at the head of the struggle against imperialist war and for peace; and this is not the least of the reasons why the masses put their trust in our Communist Party and regard it as the hope of the nation.

The Struggle for the Daily Interests of the Masses

The enormous influence that our Party wields among the masses of the people is due to the fact that it has championed their daily interests and has fought for their immediate demands. This struggle was not entirely free from difficulties and mistakes.

Before the formation of the Communist Party there had always been a division of labor between the Socialist Party and the Confédération Générale du Travail. The Socialist Party confined itself to the "political struggle," that is to say, to purely parliamentary and election activities.

The C.G.T., like the Socialist Party, had become one of the main props of class peace and class collaboration. Its reactionary leaders claimed the exclusive right to put forward "demands." They denied the right of the Party to concern itself with economic struggles and strikes. An anarcho-syndicalist trend, which had been strengthened by the treachery of the Socialist politicians and trade union leaders during the war, denied that it was the duty of a genuinely revolutionary proletarian party to engage in economic struggles, and even claimed that the Party itself was superfluous. On the other hand, certain Party members, disgusted by the criminal policy of the reformist leaders, advocated withdrawal from the trade unions and declared that it was useless to conduct activities in the trade unions. In the Party there were elements that reflected these trends and Social-Democratic, anarcho-syndicalist and "Left" strivings. The split in the trade unions created other difficulties.

We may say that, except for the short period in which the sectarian group led by Barbé influenced its policy, the Party succeeded, with the aid of the International, in striking and pursuing the right road for the protection of the everyday demands of the masses either directly, or through the medium of the trade unions.

The Communist functionaries,

most of whom were members of the Red trade unions, learned to give expression to the demands of the masses in the factories and in various trade unions. They learned to organize and lead big strikes. The confidence of the trade union membership brought them to the head of numerous trade unions. At the same time, they strove for the restoration of trade union unity.

The result was that in 1935, with the restoration of unity in the C.G.T., Communists were leaders of the most important organizations affiliated to the Federation. Among these were the Paris Metal Workers' Union with a membership of 200,000, the National Federation of Metal Workers with a membership of 800,000, the Building Workers' Federation with a membership of half a million, the Trade Union Federation of the Department of the Seine with a membership of 1,200,000, the Railwaymen's Federation with a membership of 350,000, etc.

It must be particularly noted that these leaders of great mass trade unions remained loyal to their Party and to the working class when the Party was driven underground on the outbreak of the war. Their trade unions were suppressed, their offices plundered and their funds sequestered. Many of the officials were imprisoned or interned. But the workers remained loyal to their Communist leaders, who were not trade union "bosses" divorced from the masses and loyal to the bourgeoisie, but class-conscious organizers of the fight to protect the workers against the encroachments of the employers.

Unlike the "Socialists," who indulged in phrases about "constructive reform" within the limits of the capitalist system, the Communist Party demanded the adoption of labor's partial demands in the program of the Popular Front. The Party fought the Socialist and Radical governments in defense of this program. It fought against Blum's currency devaluation scheme, which nullified the increases in wages. It fought against the "pause" in reform, which actually meant the betrayal of the interests of the working people, and against the emergency decrees of Daladier and later of Paul Reynaud, which hit the poor instead of the rich.

The Defense of Peasant Demands

Our Party took up the peasant question at its very first congress in Marseilles in 1921. One of the most remarkable aspects of the campaign for affiliation to the Third International was the enthusiastic adoption of Lenin's theses in the rural organizations of the old Socialist Party. The bourgeoisie had asserted, and this was echoed by the "Socialists," that France was a country of small peasant farming. Official statistics show, however, that from 1892 to 1929 about 2,000,000 French peasants owning less than ten hectares of land each had been dispossessed of their property. The number of such peasant farms dropped from about 4,800,000 to 2,800,000. Actually 140,000 medium and big landowners owned half the land in France and controlled over 80 per cent of the total crop. This gave them unlimited power, so to speak,

on the land. Since the beginning of this century agriculture in France has been in a gradual process of decline. This social character of the French rural districts, and the hatred for war that was burning in the hearts of the peasantry, created a favorable field for Communist propaganda in the countryside.

In 1936 a number of predominantly rural departments elected Communists to the Chamber of Deputies. This was an excellent index of the Party's influence in the rural districts as a consequence of its attitude toward the peasants, in whose interests the Party demanded: reduction of taxes and duties; provision of credits, fertilizers and agricultural machines; a price policy that would protect the small producers against the big landowners and trusts; electrification of the rural districts, irrigation schemes; satisfaction of the cultural requirements of the peasant youth; protection of tenants and share-croppers against the landowners; organization of the rural proletariat (in 1938 the Land Workers' Federation had a membership of 125,000). Crowning this was the demand: *"The land must go to the peasants who cultivate it."*

The Party fought for old-age pensions for the working people. It also fought for the demands of the small government officials, the ex-servicemen, the artisans, and the small shopkeepers. It took care not to neglect any section of the working people. It succeeded in winning the confidence of the best representatives of the French intelligentsia, the greatest authors, artists and scientists, whom the reactionaries are now persecuting.

And lastly, leaving aside for the moment the activities of the Communist group in the Chamber of Deputies, we must say a few words about the excellent work the Party has done in the municipalities. More than one burgomaster was dismissed, or suspended, because he remained loyal to the principles of Communism and participated in the strikes and other struggles of the working class. Like their comrades, the leaders of the trade unions, all our municipal councilors, with few exceptions, have remained loyal to the Party and to the working class.

In the struggle for the interests of the masses, and in organizing and leading their actions in support of the immediate demands of all working people, the Party succeeded in extending and strengthening its ties with the masses and grew into a Party that has its base among the broad masses of the people.

Tactics, and the Struggle Against Social-Democratism

At the Tours Congress the overwhelming majority of the membership of the old Socialist Party joined the Third International. A considerable section of the Socialist Party, including nearly all the members of the Chamber of Deputies (50 out of 65) continued to adhere to views that were incompatible with the principles of the Communist International. The leaders of the Socialist Party pursued their policy of class peace and collaboration with the bourgeoisie more vigorously and extensively

than ever, and became true watchdogs of capital.

They supported all the reactionary steps of the French imperialists in foreign politics, such as intervention against the Soviet Union, the plunder of the German people, colonial wars, Blum's non-intervention policy and, lastly, their plunging into the second imperialist war. They did everything to facilitate the measures of the reactionaries at home. They sabotaged strikes, disrupted the working class movement, and demanded repressive measures against the revolutionary workers.

Although the Communist Party was the strongest party in Paris—where the torch of the Commune still burned—and in a number of large industrial centers, the Socialist Party, led by Blum and Paul Faure, still had considerable influence over a large mass of workers. It was therefore necessary to combat the leaders of the Socialist Party and their treacherous policy, and to mobilize the workers to resist the bourgeoisie. How was this to be done? By applying the tactics of the united front proposed by the Communist International.

Lenin taught us that the unity of the proletariat is the main weapon in the struggle for socialism. By this he meant real unity in the struggle against the bourgeoisie, and not fictitious unity, which tries to reconcile the irreconcilable: fire and water, Communism and Social-Democratism.

Thus, the Party launched a struggle for the unity of the working class. But in applying these tactics the Party was compelled to wage a struggle on two fronts in its own ranks; against those who regarded the united front as a pretext for neglecting the struggle against Social-Democratism and wanted to drag the Party along the path of election intrigues and compromises; and against those who saw no distinction between the reactionary leaders and the betrayed masses, and wanted to shirk the difficult but extremely important task of winning over the rank-and-file Social-Democrats.

We will not go into all the details of the struggle the Party waged to achieve the victory of the united front. We will merely examine the various phases of the Party's tactics.

1. At the beginning of 1924, in view of the distrust aroused against Poincaré's national bloc and to avert illusions—and inevitable disillusionment—resulting from the formation of the Radical and Socialist bloc, the Communist Party proposed to the Socialist Party the formation of a workers' and peasants' bloc.

2. In 1927, after the collapse of the Left bloc, and in view of the prospects of the intensification of the class struggle in France and in all countries, the Communist Party proposed—though vainly—to the Socialist Party the joint application of "class against class" election tactics and the nomination of joint candidates during the second ballots. In both cases—workers' and peasants' bloc and the "class against class" tactics—the Party did not have merely elections in mind. It proposed the organization of mass actions in support of the immediate

demands, support of strikes, and the formation of factory, district and local committees of action.

3. At the beginning of 1934 the Party set to work more vigorously to organize a militant united front and succeeded in winning over large sections of Socialist workers, and workers who sympathized with Socialism. Against the sortie of the reactionaries on February 6, the Party *single-handed* organized the unforgettable counter-attack of February 9, 1934, and became the leading factor in the successful general strike and demonstration of February 12. Influenced by the Communist Party, the Socialist workers flung themselves into the struggle against reaction. Their leaders were compelled to recognize the united front which, as Blum said, the Communists had made "inevitable." They signed the United Action Pact, although they were determined to sabotage it, and ultimately to betray it.

4. On the basis of the proletarian united front, the Communist Party issued its slogan for a Popular Front for peace, bread and freedom. The fighting alliance between the working class and the working people of the lower middle class—primarily the peasants—against fascist reaction and war was brought about. The Popular Front achieved enormous success, although it remained organizationally weak. The Party did not succeed in building a close network of effective Popular Front committees, directly elected by the working people, for the purpose of controlling the representatives of the Popular Front and the fulfilment of its program.

5. Even under present conditions the Party has not abandoned the tactics of the Popular Front, to which the masses still adhere, in spite of treachery of the Social-Democratic and Radical leaders. But in view of this treachery and the collapse of the Socialist and Radical Parties after July, 1940, the Communists are now applying these tactics *from below;* they are striving to rally the workers, peasants and the lower middle classes in a genuine Popular Front without traitors and capitulators.

Thanks to its flexible tactics, which are based on the principles of Leninism, and adapted to the changing circumstances, the Communist Party of France has won considerable influence and prestige. The success of these tactics in itself shows what progress the Party and its functionaries have made in their political and ideological training.

The Growth and Consolidation of the Party—The Struggle Within the Party for the Principles of Communism

In every big working class battle, at every change in the internal and international situation, and at every corresponding change in Communist tactics, the Party was compelled to wage a stern struggle in its own ranks to ensure the pursuit of its general line, to carry the principles of Lenin and Stalin to victory, to prevent the penetration into its ranks of the ideology of the class enemy, and to crush alien elements and expel them from the Party.

In 1923, during the occupation of the Ruhr, the fight had to be waged against the renegade Frossard. In 1924, in the period of the relative stabilization of capitalism in Western Europe, it had to be waged against the Trotskyite Souvarine. In 1925, during the Morocco war, it had to be waged against Paz, the advocate of colonial rule. On August 1, 1929, during the vicious attack on the Soviet Union, it had to be waged against the adventurer Sellier and a group of corrupt municipal councilors. In 1934, during the intense struggle against the reaction, it had to be waged against the gangster Doriot. And lastly, on the outbreak of the war, it had to be waged against the agent of the police, Gitton.

The Party waged an unremitting struggle against the Trotskyite counter-revolutionaries who, in France as in all countries, played a provocateur and disruptive role in the working class movement. The Party exposed and defeated the Barbé group, whose disruptive activities facilitated the penetration of agents of the police into the Party. In these struggles against the enemies in its own ranks the Party became trained and steeled. It learned to recognize the petty-bourgeois essence and content of all these hostile oppositions and groups, namely, capitulation before difficulties. The Party learned that it is impossible to combat opportunist and Social-Democratic deviations without at the same time vigorously combating the conciliatory trends and elements who claim to adhere to the Party line, but actually support the opportunists against the Party at every opportunity.

The Communist Group in the Chamber

At the time of the Tours Congress the Socialist group in the Chamber of Deputies was the hotbed of opportunism in the Party. These Socialist deputies were accustomed to act according to their own sweet will and to ignore the instructions of the Party. They had never conducted real Socialist, proletarian and revolutionary agitation. The majority of them were lawyers and professors, or reformist trade union leaders who had become completely bourgeois. They were not representatives of the working class in the struggle against the bourgeoisie, but common politicians, eagerly entering into all sorts of compromises and intrigues in the parliamentary game. Nearly all of them remained in Blum's camp. Only fifteen of them joined the Communists.

This small group of Communist deputies set to work with right good will to perform their parliamentary duties in the spirit of the resolution of the Tours Congress; but they were not yet of the right stamp, and were still weighted down by the old habits.

In 1924 the Communist group in the Chamber—now increased to twenty-four, most of them working men—took another step forward. During the Morocco war most of them performed their duty as agitators and organizers of the masses against imperialism.

From 1932 to 1936 the Party,

which was handicapped by the electoral system, had only ten deputies in the Chamber. This small group, however, developed considerable activity, particularly in 1934. They represented in the Chamber of Deputies the growing Communist movement and the progress of the proletarian united front and the Popular Front.

In the elections of 1936 the Party obtained 1,500,000 votes and secured the election of seventy-two deputies, most of them working men. These Communist deputies were true representatives of the masses of the working people, expressed their desires and aspirations and fought for the achievement of their demands. These were Party functionaries, leaders of local trade union organizations and of trade union federations. Their activities extended far beyond their parliamentary duties.

On the outbreak of the war, when the legal Party press was suppressed and a strict postal censorship was introduced, most of those who were not liable to military service traveled to all parts of the country carrying the instructions of the Central Committee to the district and local organizations. Unfortunately, the group did not take advantage of the only session of the Chamber of September 2, 1939 (the Chamber did not meet again until November 30) to voice the Party's opposition to the reactionary war policy of the French imperialists. But this mistake was soon remedied.

The Communist group, which after the suppression of the Communist Party was transformed into the Workers' and Peasants' group, sent a memorandum to the President of the Chamber in which it clearly formulated its opposition to the imperialist war and demanded that the Chamber be convened for the purpose of discussing proposals for bringing about peace. This was followed by the wholesale arrest of the Communist Deputies and their imprisonment like common felons. About ten of them gave the police the slip and continued their Communist activities underground.

One of them, Bonte, who jointly with Ramette had signed the incriminating document, managed to reach his place in the Chamber during the session of November 30. Supported by Cornavin, who owing to ill health had been temporarily released from prison, Bonte bravely faced the horde of bourgeois and "Socialist" political hoodlums. The session was suspended. Bonte was beaten up, thrown out of the Chamber and handed over to the police.

At the beginning of January, 1940, the Deputies Guyot, Grenier, Michels and Mercier, who had been mobilized for the army, attended the opening session and demonstratively refused to take part in the chauvinistic demonstration of the Chamber. These, too, were manhandled and ejected from the Chamber. A few days later another soldier-Deputy, Fajon, supported by Mouton, delivered a courageous speech against the imperialist war and the oppression prevailing in the country. He emphatically expressed his solidarity with the arrested Deputies.

The Chamber resolved to deprive our Deputies of their mandates, and

Cachin was expelled from the Senate. Later our Communist Deputies were tried by court martial. Their conduct at the trial did honor to our Party. Inspired by the glorious example of Dimitroff's conduct before the Leipzig tribunal, our comrades, from the very first day of the trial, changed their roles from accused to accusers, so much so that the further hearing was held behind closed doors. The Communist Deputies were sentenced to five years' imprisonment each without the people being able to hear their courageous voices.

Nevertheless, reports were received of the speeches of Waldeck Rochet, Berlioz, Barel, Croizat, Costes, Bartolini, Cornavin and others, and above all of the admirable declaration read by Billoux, a member of the Political Bureau. In this declaration he, on behalf of the Party, denounced the imperialist warmongers, condemned the reactionary leaders of the Socialist Party and the renegades, paid tribute to the Soviet Union, the fatherland of all working people, and reaffirmed the loyalty of the French Communists to their International, to the cause of Lenin and Stalin. This declaration breathed the pure spirit of internationalism and passionate love of the working class and the French people, and was fully in keeping with the glorious traditions of 1789, 1830, 1848 and 1871. It expressed unshakable confidence in the victorious future of the working class and of communism.

The trial of the forty-four Communist Deputies created a profound impression upon the masses of the working people. It was a slap in the face of the renegades and nullified all the attempts of traitors like Gitton, Capron and Dewez, on the instructions of the bourgeoisie, to demoralize and destroy the Party. The Communist Deputies proved worthy successors and continuers of the revolutionary fighting traditions of the Bolshevik deputies in the tsarist Duma, and of Karl Liebknecht.

The Party Press—Humanité

Like the bourgeois newspapers, the old *Humanité* had devoted most of its space to parliamentary debates; not to the publication of the revolutionary speeches of the Socialist Deputies, for they made none, but to minute details of their dabbling in reforms and sham fighting that was totally alien to the interests of the working class. The local press was equally dull. It did not reflect the lives of the working people, but confined itself to trivial polemics during elections. The Communist Party succeeded in transforming *Humanité* into the premier political newspaper in France. Before the outbreak of the war it had a daily circulation of over 400,000.

Particularly under the direction of Vaillant-Couturier, *Humanité* strove to become a general newspaper, but one that faithfully expressed the Party's policy. In it the working people found the Party's slogans, and political and organizational guidance. In it they found a reflection and interpretation of current events. Most of the space in the

paper was devoted to the demands and the struggles of the workers. *Humanité* was the soul of all the mass campaigns of the Party. It taught its readers to know and love the Soviet Union and tirelessly called for its defense. It was a great internationalist newspaper, which devoted considerable attention to the international working class movement and to the struggle for freedom of the colonial peoples. And it continues to be such today.

The support which *Humanité* enjoyed among the working people could be measured in 1929 when Tardieu tried to drive the paper into financial bankruptcy. In a few days the workers collected many millions of francs to save their paper. In a way reminiscent of the spirit of initiative displayed by their fathers, the Communards, and of which Marx expressed such admiration, the Paris workers spontaneously formed committees in defense of *Humanité*. Before the outbreak of the war there were over 500 such committees, which helped to distribute the paper, obtained new readers and organized special propaganda sales.

On the outbreak of the war *Humanité* was suppressed, but it is continuing to appear illegally. Thanks to the magnificent loyalty of our Party functionaries, our paper, printed or mimeographed, circulates all over the country.

Before the outbreak of the war the Party had seventy daily provincial newspapers with a total circulation of 500,000. In addition, it had a German daily in Strassburg, which had a circulation of 30,000.

Organization

Before the Tours Congress the unit of the Party was the local section. The sections, which enjoyed considerable "autonomy," were linked up in Department Federations, which jealously guarded their "independence" of the Party Center. Actually, the Party was a federation of election committees.

In conformity with the decisions of the Communist International, and following the example of the Bolshevik Party, the Party, after the Tours Congress, underwent complete reorganization to fit itself for its tasks. The first nuclei in the factories were established after the resistance of the opportunists and the anarcho-syndicalists had been broken. After overcoming numerous difficulties and defeating the stern persecution of the employers, the local Party organizations gradually gained strength and exercised increasing influence in the big enterprises, particularly in the region of Paris, in the North, the region of the Pas-de-Calais, in Gard, Marseilles, St. Etienne, Le Havre, and many other centers.

One may say now with absolute confidence that the Party would have been unable successfully to carry on the struggle for the united front and Popular Front, to withstand the persecution it has been subjected to and to continue to exist underground, were it not for the fact that its main forces were organized in the factories. The Party would have been unable to carry through its great and arduous duties were it not built up on the princi-

ple of democratic centralism, were not the leading bodies of the sections and districts, right up to the Central Committee, democratically elected from top to bottom, empowered to issue instructions and, on the basis of confidence and discipline, to demand their strict fulfilment by all the members of the Party.

In addition to this, the Party worked uninterruptedly to raise the theoretical standard of its functionaries and members. Before the outbreak of the war the Party conducted a number of central and district schools for the political education of its functionaries. In addition to this the education department of the Central Committee had drawn up a program for elementary education. *Cahiers du Bolchevisme,* the theoretical organ of the Party, had a circulation of 10,000 copies. Its publication is being continued underground. The Party's publishing houses have done a great deal to circulate the principal works of the leaders of scientific socialism, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. In the brief period between the publication of the French edition of *the History of the C.P.S.U.* and the suppression of the Party, 175,000 copies of this book were sold.

In every campaign the Party waged it recruited new forces from the ranks of the working class, it drew the best proletarians into its ranks, and in the course of ten years increased its membership from 30,000 to 300,000. It steadily built up its cadres of active workers, who became steeled and experienced in the course of the struggle. During the hard years of war and reaction it has learned more or less to adapt itself to the arduous work underground.

Many of the Party's active workers have been thrown into prison or in concentration camps. But the Party has survived and exists. Out of the fifty-five members of the Central Committee who were elected at the Arles Congress in 1937 only three—Gitton, Vassart and Soupe—have deserted to the camp of the bourgeoisie.

The Youth

At the time of the occupation of the Ruhr and during the Morocco war, the Communist Youth Federation of France conducted numerous revolutionary, anti-imperialist and anti-militarist campaigns. Its divorcement from work among the masses and a certain sectarian seclusion, however, weakened the organization for a time. Nevertheless, as a result of the efforts of the Party and of the active members of the Communist Youth League, the bulk of the young workers of France were on the side of the working class in the decisive battle against the bourgeoisie. Eventually, the Communist Youth Federation of France grew into an organization of 100,000 members; its newspaper *Avant-Garde* had a circulation of over 100,000. Many of the young Communists of France joined the International Brigades in Spain. There, many members of the Central Committee of the League died a glorious death on the battlefield, and many were severely wounded.

Like the Party, the Communist

Youth League is continuing the struggle underground. *Avant-Garde* continues to be published illegally. The League is justly proud of the many Young Communists who are displaying fine courage in the struggles against reaction, enthusiasm in their revolutionary work, and unshakable confidence in the future.

* * *

On its twentieth anniversary the Communist Party of France can definitely declare that it is pursuing the right road. The working class, the people of France, are becoming more and more convinced of this, and are demonstrating their growing confidence in the Party.

The condition of our country today is tragic. The land, devastated by war, is now inundated with foreign troops. Industrial output has shrunk enormously, and agricultural output has greatly declined. Unemployment is growing. Hunger is knocking at the door of the workers' homes. The working people are undernourished, and the consequences of this for our children and youth, for our coming generation, must be frightful. The youth, who want to work, to learn a trade, are being herded in labor camps.

The Vichy government is determined to rob the working people of the last remnants of their social gains and the last traces of their former liberties. In the country of Descartes, Voltaire and Diderot, secular education is being abolished, scientists are being persecuted and efforts are being made to drag the country back to medieval obscurantism and clericalism. But the men of Vichy are not the government of France. They are the government of the capitalists who have betrayed France.

All the parties of the bourgeoisie, from the Monarchists and Clericals to the Radicals and Socialists, bear full responsibility for the disaster our people are suffering. All of them howled like wolves for the continuation of the imperialist war and for the extermination of the Communist workers. All of them had avowed traitors, spies and agents of the invaders in their ranks. All of them must be branded with shame and ignominy. The Communist Party is the only party that has fought against the imperialist war and for peace; has fought to support the interests of the masses. The Communist Party is the only Party that is alive and continuing the struggle, in spite of all the blows that are showered upon it.

The Party is fighting for the national and social liberation of the working people of France, for a free and independent France. More than ever before it is fighting for work, freedom, bread and peace. It is calling for the formation of People's Committees in the factories, in the street blocks, and villages. It is calling for work to be done in the trade unions. It is calling for the unity of the working class, for the unity of the people, for the unity of the French nation.

This is a difficult task. The Party is passing through the school of underground work. Its losses are heavy; but the gaps are being filled, and will continue to be filled. Even

in the last imperialist war Lenin wrote:

"It is untrue to say that 'the French are incapable' of carrying on systematic illegal work. Untrue! The French quickly learned to conceal themselves in the trenches; they will quickly learn the *new* conditions of illegal work and systematically to prepare for a *revolutionary mass* movement. I believe in the French revolutionary proletariat." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XIX, "The Tasks of the Opposition in France," International Publishers, New York.)

We believe in our working class, in our people. The successes of yesterday are the harbingers of the victories of tomorrow.

The working people know that the road of the Communist Party is the road of struggle and sacrifice. But they also know that this is the road that has led 193,000,000 people, the great people of the Soviet Union, to liberation from capitalist slavery, to the grand work of building socialism, to work for all, to peace and happiness.

A few weeks ago 50,000 Parisians marched to the Pere-Lachaise, near the Wall of the Federals, where the Communards lie buried, to lay wreathes on the grave of Paul Vaillant-Couturier, one of the founders of our Party. The honor thus paid to the fighter of yesterday was also a mark of confidence in those who are continuing the struggle today. It is proof of the confidence the workers have in our Party and in the Communist International. It is evidence of their confidence and devotion to our great and beloved Stalin.

The successors to the Communards who gathered at the Wall of the Federals said to the working class, to the people of France: "Whatever happens, the future is ours!"

KLIMENT YEFREMOVICH VOROSHILOV

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

SIXTY years ago, on Jan. 23, 1881, in the cabin of a railway watchman near the sleepy village of Verkhneye, in the former Yekaterinoslav Province, was born one of the founders of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, one of the best representatives of the old Bolshevik Guard, a true comrade-in-arms of Lenin and Stalin—Kliment Yefremovich Voroshilov.

When no more than six or seven years of age Voroshilov went to work at a mine, sorting ore. Here he slaved twelve and fourteen hours a day for ten kopeks. At the age of ten he was put to minding cattle on a landlord's estate, then, after temporary employment as a farmhand, he went back to the mine.

Such is the drab beginning and record of Voroshilov's childhood. He was almost twelve before he could read and write. This sorely aggrieved his mother, whose life dream was to see her son an "educated man." True enough, her ambition went no further than to have her son taught to "read the psalter and prayer-book"—the summit of learning which her father had attained.

In 1893 a Zemstvo school was opened in Vasilevka, a village in Slavyansk Uyezd. Young Klim was accepted. People who went to school with him remember that "he was outstanding among the other boys for his intelligence, his good memory and his easy mastery of difficult subjects."

This "course of education" continued only for two winter terms. After them Kliment went back into the harder school of life. In 1896, when he was fifteen years old, he was apprenticed to a mechanic in the Dumo works, near the village of Alchevskaya.

At that time the Donetz coal region was developing into the biggest industrial center in Russia. Its vast mineral wealth and the cheapness of local labor attracted foreign as well as Russian capitalists. They came eagerly, scenting fat and easy profits. And their expectations were not disappointed. They made loads of money while the miners, working twelve and fifteen hours a day, hardly got enough to buy bread. The most savage despotism ruled in the mines and in the factories. Not a word of protest was permitted against the high-handedness of the employers and police authorities.

It was here at the Dumo works that Voroshilov's first collision with the police took place. This was the beginning of his political life, the first step. It came about under the following circumstances. In 1897 a high police official by the name of Grekov arrived at the works to "keep order." He was an autocratic man, quite drunk with his own importance. One day several youths were going home from work, among them Voroshilov. They were passing the house of the postmaster just as Superintendent Grekov arrived on a visit. The lads reluctantly touched their caps to this guardian of order who had made an unholy reputation at the works. The only exception was Klim Voroshilov, who walked past nonchalantly without even casting a glance at him.

"You young hooligan! Take your cap off!" shouted Grekov.

"The superintendent was a bumptious ass," says Voroshilov in his reminiscences. "He jumped up from the rustic seat on which he was sitting in company with the ladies, ran at me waving his fists and demanded an explanation why I had not doffed my cap to him. I laughed into his face. At this he seized me angrily by the shirt collar while I retaliated on the frenzied satrap by grapping hold of his necktie." A duel began. The police superintendent fell flat on the ground. The postmaster and the ladies disappeared in alarm. Police whistles blew. Then half a dozen constables came lumbering on to the "scene of the occurrence," manhandled the "rioter" and soon had him "in the stone jug."

After this incident Voroshilov was put under surveillance as an "unreliable element" and a watch was kept on him openly and secretly.

He made contact with revolutionary working men and was soon organizing open-air meetings in secluded spots around Orlovo and Vasilevka. Voroshilov was one of the organizers of a revolutionary circle which started with political self-education, then began to distribute illegal literature at the works.

In 1899 the crane-drivers in the foundry, driven to desperation by the inhuman working conditions, went on strike. The initiator and leader of the strike was Voroshilov. The strike was a success. The conditions were improved—for a short time at least. But the police made the strike leader pay for it. His living quarters were searched, he was arrested and dismissed from the works. Now Voroshilov's name was on the dreaded blacklist that doomed Russia's best men to untold hardships, hunger, a nomadic existence in search of work and a refuge.

This was Voroshilov's experience, haunting the factory gates and pitheads in vain hopes of getting a job. Somehow or other he got a place at Peifil and Co.'s boiler works in Taganrog but was dismissed three days later. He had the good luck to be taken on at an anthracite mine but here too he was traced by the police. In the beginning of 1903 he was finally given employment at Hartman's locomotive works in Lugansk. But after two or three months he was dismissed.

This was about the time when Voroshilov joined the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party. A confirmed opponent of conciliationism and all half-way policies, he took the Bolshevik side at once. He gave himself up heart and soul to the cause of the emancipation of the working class.

This energetic young man was already well known among the workers as a fearless opponent of the police, the officialdom, the employers and the whole capitalist system.

In 1904 Voroshilov was elected a member of the Bolshevik Committee of Lugansk. Lugansk was already at that time a considerable center of industry, where 10,000 workers were employed.

In the summer of 1905 Voroshilov managed to get back at Hartman's. Two strikes took place here, one in February, the other in July, Voroshilov leading them both. At this time the tide of the revolutionary movement was rising rapidly. The atmosphere was electric with portents of a revolutionary storm. Hartman's became the center of the labor movement in South Russia. A Soviet of workers' deputies was formed here and a trade union of factory workers. Voroshilov was elected chairman of both these proletarian bodies.

Voroshilov was very popular with the workers. They saw in him a staunch champion of their interests. More than once they rescued him from the clutches of the tsarist gendarmes. At the end of 1905 thousands of workers marched in a body to the gates of the local prison demanding his release after he had been arrested as the leader of the July strike. And he was released. Another memorable occasion was the general strike of the workers of Lugansk in 1907 when the Kharkov Circuit Court arrived to try Voroshilov. In spite of the precautions of the police a demonstration of workers reached the court house and forced their way in. The trial had to be called off. Voroshilov and the other defendants in the same case were released.

At the beginning of 1906 the Lugansk organization sent Voroshilov to the Fourth Party Congress, which was held at Stockholm. Here he first met Lenin, Stalin and other leading Bolsheviks. On his return from Stockholm we find him hard at work preparing armed action against the tsarist government. He organized workers' action squads, and made two trips to Finland, bringing back large consignments of arms. In Lugansk the indomitable Klim organized an excellent chemical laboratory for the manufacture of bombs.

Thus, thirty-five years ago, Voroshilov entered the sphere of military science in which he was to show such outstanding organizational ability, such rare physical and moral courage.

In the spring of 1907 Voroshilov went to London to attend the Fifth Congress of the Party. In that same summer he took part in the South Russian Party conference.

Soon after this conference Voroshilov was arrested and exiled. Close on his heels followed a secret circular from the governor-general

of Yekaterinoslav embodying the decision of the Minister of the Interior.

"Deport Voroshilov to Archangel Province under open police surveillance for three years, counting from Oct. 1, 1907."

In December the Archangel police authorities discovered that Voroshilov was missing from the province under their jurisdiction. He had taken French leave to continue his illegal revolutionary work. He was active for a time in Baku, then returned to St. Petersburg. Here he was rearrested. This period of Voroshilov's life was a strenuous chapter of arrests, exiles and escapes. Archangel, Kholmogory, Mezen, Cherdyn. . . . It was not until March, 1914, that Voroshilov managed to get released from exile in Cherdyn. He got work at the arsenal in Tsaritsyn, where four years later he was to lead the epic defense together with Stalin.

In Tsaritsyn much effort was required to marshal the forces of the Party membership, which were scattered in different factories. Voroshilov was engaged in this work when the war broke out. The Bolsheviks in Tsaritsyn called upon the masses to oppose the war. This brought the police down on them in full cry and in the spring of 1915 Voroshilov moved to Petrograd, where he obtained employment at the Surgailo Works.

The days of February, 1917. Voroshilov played an outstanding part in the development of the revolutionary events. Thanks to his contacts with the rank and file he succeeded in winning over the Izmailovsky Regiment to the side of the revolution. From the outbreak of the February revolution Voroshilov was a member of the Petrograd Soviet and vigorously opposed the policies of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries on that body.

But he was needed in the Donetz Region and in March, 1917, the Party sent him to Lugansk. The proletariat received him with enthusiasm as their recognized leader. Under his leadership the Bolsheviks in Lugansk made war on the conciliators, and campaigned against Kerensky's bourgeois government, opening the eyes of the people to its real character. Voroshilov was elected chairman of the town council and, subsequently, chairman of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies.

At the end of 1917 Voroshilov returned to Petrograd. He was appointed commissar of the city. In this capacity he helped Felix Dzerzhinsky to organize the Cheka.

Soon international imperialism came to the rescue of the overthrown Russian bourgeoisie. The Germans swept into the Ukraine to monopolize her fertile soil and vast mineral wealth. Against this force, 200,000 strong, the Red Guards could muster only 15,000 men. At this juncture Voroshilov returned to the Ukraine.

The invaders, armed to the teeth, were advancing all along the line, seizing district after district. Voroshilov took over the leadership of the "First Socialist Partisan Detachment of Lugansk," which consisted of old workers, tried and tested in

the revolutionary struggle of former years. The men at the Hartman Works rigged up two armored trains complete with machine-guns and artillery.

Voroshilov sent a telegram to the Central Committee of the Party:

"With a force of 600 men consisting mainly of local workers we have set out from Lugansk to meet the German invaders who are advancing and occupying the territory of our country. We are proceeding via Rodakovo, Kupiansk, Kharkov and Vorozhba to Konotop. We shall give the executioners of the proletarian revolution blow for blow."

With this force Voroshilov put up a desperate fight against the occupying forces. By April the front had crept up to Rodakovo, a village on the railway line. Here at a meeting of the leaders of the revolutionary forces Voroshilov was elected commander-in-chief of all the partisan forces in this area, which were combined into the Fifth Army. On the day after his election Voroshilov directed a big engagement. Overcoming fierce resistance at Gundorovskaya, Likhaya and Chira, he commenced the heroic march to Tsaritsyn.

There he arrived after three months' heavy fighting and met Comrade Stalin. From the different units in this area the Tenth Army was formed and Voroshilov was appointed commander.

Tsaritsyn, an important industrial center with a large working class population, was a veritable revolutionary stronghold. The White Guards were fiercely attacking the city, whose capture would enable them to join forces with the Czechoslovakian troops on the Volga. This would have cut off the Soviet capital from the grain supplies of the South. Realizing the gravity of the situation, Lenin sent Comrade Stalin to lead the defense of Tsaritsyn. In pursuance of Stalin's plans and instructions Voroshilov directed the operations to good effect. His military talent was particularly conspicuous in this defense of the "Red Verdun," beating off the attacks from without and suppressing Socialist-Revolutionary insurrections inside the city.

At the beginning of 1919 Voroshilov was elected a member of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party. He entered the government as the People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the Ukraine. Soon, however, he was obliged to return to the field. He was put in charge of the expedition against the Grigoriev insurrection. In June Voroshilov was appointed commander of the Fourteenth Army. He directed the defense of Yekaterinoslav, and then, as commander of the Ukrainian home front, the defense of Kiev.

In October the same year Voroshilov became a member of the Revolutionary Military Committee of the First Cavalry Army. The idea of forming the Red Cavalry had been backed up very warmly in spite of objections treacherously raised by Trotsky and a number of military experts. Voroshilov was to superintend the political training of the men. There were only about 300 members of the Communist Party in this army of 30,000. Voroshilov

was confronted with the formidable task of eliminating "free-lancing" and establishing Bolshevik discipline.

How he accomplished it is to be seen in the glorious career of the First Cavalry Army, its unsurpassed record of heroic exploits.

Led by Voroshilov and Budenny the Mounted Army dealt Denikin a crushing blow. They pursued the White forces practically to the slopes of the Caucasus. In 1920 the young republic was assailed by the Polish Whites. The First Cavalry Army made military history by riding a thousand kilometers across country to the new front. The Red Cavalry wiped out Petlura's bands and pushed the Poles all the way back to the city of Lvov. When sent against Baron Wrangel, who had pitched camp in the Crimea, the Cavalry Army won another brilliant victory.

The civil war came to an end. The Red Army had defeated the White Guards and had driven the numerous invaders from the country. But there were still numerous bands of raiders, large and small, making it difficult to proceed with peaceful socialist construction.

Voroshilov was already known to the people as a tested champion of their cause, a talented general and an able military organizer. In 1921 he was appointed Commander of the North Caucasian Military Area. In the North Caucasus he cleaned up about sixty armed bands. On the outbreak of the counter-revolutionary Kronstadt mutiny, which was instigated by White Guards, Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, the Party sent its best men, the delegates of the Tenth Party Congress, against the mutineers. Voroshilov was at their head. The mutiny was put down.

In 1924 Voroshilov became the commander of the Moscow Military Area and a member of the Revolutionary Military Committee of the U.S.S.R. As a member of the latter he took part in the reorganization of the Red Army with M. V. Frunze —a colossal task.

After the death of M. V. Frunze Voroshilov was appointed People's Commissar of Army and Marine and chairman of the Revolutionary Military Committee of the U.S.S.R.

At this post Voroshilov rendered enormous services in organizing the armed forces of the U.S.S.R. and improving their technical equipment.

It is due largely to Voroshilov's long leadership of the Red Army that it has become such a powerful and formidable force. The mighty armament of the Red Army proved itself on the Mannerheim Line, which was considered impregnable. These first-class fortifications were swept away by the heroic attacks of the Red Army, armed with modern instruments of war.

Since May, 1940, Voroshilov has been occupying the highly responsible position of Vice-Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. and Chairman of the Defense Committee of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. For his services Voroshilov has been awarded the Order of Lenin three times and the Order of the Red Banner four times.

He is one of the leaders of the Party and of the government, one of the most outstanding organizers of the Party and builders of the socialist state. He was elected a member of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. at the Tenth Party Congress (1921) and has been re-elected to the Central Committee by all the Party congresses held since that time. He has been a member of the Political Bureau ever since 1926.

A true pupil of Lenin, one of Comrade Stalin's closest comrades-in-arms, a staunch fighter for the general line of the Party, Voroshilov has consistently fought all the enemies of the Party.

There is no one in the Soviet Union who does not know Kliment Yefremovich Voroshilov. This "Red Officer," the renowned Marshal of the Soviet state, the former Lugansk mechanic, is the theme of some of the Soviet people's best militant songs. Today he looks back on a life of sixty years, forty of them devoted to service in the great cause of Lenin and Stalin. Comrade Voroshilov is working tirelessly as ever, strengthening the Red Army, making further improvements on its technical equipment, reinforcing the defenses of the U.S.S.R. Young working people will find much to learn from the life of Kliment Yefremovich Voroshilov, truly a grand, audacious record of militant service!

GREETINGS TO COMRADE VOROSHILOV

I.

DEAR KLIMENT YEFREMOVICH!

On this your sixtieth birthday we send you, a Leninist of iron invincibility, a true pupil, friend and comrade-in-arms of the great Stalin, our ardent Bolshevik greetings.

Your life, your whole career is a model as the life and struggle of a dauntless proletarian revolutionary sprung from the ranks of the working class, from the very heart of the people, having from your youth devoted all your strangth and ability, all your Bolshevik energy and fervor to the sacred cause of the emancipation of the toiling people. Traversing a path of rigorous class struggle, organizing the workers of Lugansk, teaching them and learning from them, you advanced to the front ranks of the glorious Party of Lenin and Stalin even before the first Russian Revolution.

At every stage in your life since then, deep underground, in the

Ukraine and in Baku, at the Stockholm and London Congresses of the Party, in the hardships of prison, in exile at Archangel and Cherdyn, in the days of the February Revolution and the great October Socialist Revolution, on the civil war fronts and at the head of the Red Army, at all times, wherever the Party has sent you, you have staunchly adhered to the banner of Bolshevism, the invincible banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. With this banner in hand you raised the Izmailovsky Guards against the autocracy in 1917, under this banner in the historic days of October you fought for the victory of the great socialist revolution.

And when the enemies hurled themselves upon the young Soviet republic you rallied the workers of the Donetz Basin, formed armed detachments under enemy fire, creating from them the first units of the Red Army and leading them into battle against the hordes of the Russian White Guards and the foreign invaders.

To you fell the great honor of working as Comrade Stalin's right hand in the heroic defense of Tsaritsyn, in the liberation of Ukrainian soil from the enemy invasion. At the head of the legendary First Cavalry Army, which was formed on the initiative and design of Stalin, you traversed the whole glorious path in its victories over the bandit hordes of Denikin, Wrangel and the Polish barons.

When death tore from our ranks the great soldier, our never-to-be-forgotten Michael Vasilevich Frunze, the Party, recognizing your exceptional abilities and services in the development of the Red Army, fixed its choice on you as his worthy successor. Standing for almost fifteen years at the head of the Red Army in the capacity of People's Commissar of Defense, you worked tirelessly day by day, strengthening its fighting power, equipping it with modern armaments, hammering out Bolshevik cohorts of commanders, training the Red Army in a spirit of self-abnegating patriotism and devotion to their socialist country.

And now, too, in the tense situation created by the raging inferno of the second imperialist war, which is fraught with all kinds of unexpected eventualities, as the Chairman of the Committee of Defense, converting into action the inspired ideas of Comrade Stalin, you are working tirelessly to advance further the all-embracing development and reinforcement of the defensive might of the great socialist power.

Your vast labors in the service of your country have rightly won you the love of the Red Army and the Soviet people. You are known and admired by the working people not only in the U.S.S.R. but far and wide beyond its borders as a true son of the working class, an iron Bolshevik, a member of the Political Bureau of the All-Union Communist Party.

We wish you, dear Kliment Yefremovich, long years of life to continue your fruitful work for the well being of the Soviet people and the toilers of all countries.

Long live Comrade Stalin's sterling comrade-in-arms in advancing the power of defense of the land of

socialism—Kliment Yefremovich Voroshilov!

Long live the leader, friend and teacher of the working people, Comrade Stalin!

G. Dimitroff, D. Z. Manuilsky,
José Diaz, M. Ercoli, A. Marty,
W. Pieck, Dolores Ibarruri,
Kurt Gottwald, V. Florin.

II

THE Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party and the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. warmly congratulate you, a true comrade-in-arms of Lenin and Stalin, one of the most active builders of the Communist Party, an eminent organizer of the armed forces of the Soviet state and an outstanding leader of the Red Army —on this your sixtieth birthday.

All your life from your youth you have devoted to the revolutionary struggle of the working class, for communism. During the first Russian revolution of 1905-07 you fought in the front ranks of the revolutionary workers of the Donetz Region and, with Lenin and Stalin, helped to build our Bolshevik Party. You were one of the most active participants in the Great October Socialist Revolution and its Bolshevik leader in the Donetz Basin, one of the first organizers of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army.

Under your command the Fifth Ukrainian Army in 1918 made its heroic march to Tsaritsyn, breaking through the ring of the counter-revolutionary forces of the Cossack Whites. With your participation the First Cavalry Army was formed, which covered itself with undying glory. With it you traversed a great path of victories, crushing the counter-revolutionary forces of Denikin, playing havoc with the Polish Whites, destroying the White bands of Wrangel.

It is due largely to your many years of tireless service as its leader that the Red Army has grown into a mighty and formidable force.

In all these stages of your glorious revolutionary career the Party knows you as one who has always fought consistently against the enemies of the Party and of the Soviet people. By your indefatigable and fruitful labors as a Party leader, as a statesman and as a builder of the Red Army you have earned the love and esteem of our Party and the Soviet people.

Wishing you, our dear friend and militant comrade, with all our hearts many more years to live in health and continue your fruitful labors for the good of our Party and the Soviet State.

Central Committee, C.P.S.U.
Council of People's Commissars,
U.S.S.R.

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